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AUTHOR Bernstein, Jean
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ABSTRACT

Secondary students learn about the process of becoming President of the United States in this social studies unit. The unit traces the steps that a fictional candidate takes from the Presidential primaries through National Party Conventions and election campaigns, to the Presidential office in the White House. A candidate proceeds through the nomination and campaign process, while explanatory political background material taken from actual campaigns in recent U.S. history clarifies each step for the reader. The book is organized into 15 chapters, each of which forms the basis for a class session. The chapters contain approximately 10 pages each of narrative about steps in the political process. Content includes selection of a party candidate, electoral votes, campaign financing, role of the media, ethnic issues, "balanced" tickets, and inauguration. At the end of each chapter a student assignment section suggests activities related to the reading. These include choosing appropriate campaign strategies, writing news articles about the campaigns, charting religious and ethnic backgrounds of the candidates of the two major parties from 1860 to 1968, and writing editorials about controversial issues. An appendix contains nine federal constitutional provisions relating to choosing the President. (AV)

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Students Book

THE ROAD TO THE WHITE HOUSE

by
Jean Bernstein

SP 009 979

Dr. Mark M. Krug, Editor

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INTRODUCTION

This is the second unit in the series of civic education materials published by the Lavinia and Charles Schwartz Citizenship Project.

The Constitution of the United States is silent on the way a President is to be nominated, but Americans, always pragmatic and politically imaginative, have slowly evolved an elaborate process of selecting several candidates, and then two or three nominees of their respective parties to run for the Presidency.

The Road to the White House describes the difficult, often tortuous, but always exhilarating, way that leads a man from the Presidential primaries, through the National Party Conventions and through a long election campaign, to the oval office at the White House.

It is our hope that students will find the rigorous, but thoroughly democratic and uniquely American process of selection of the top national leader, instructive and inspiring.

Mark M. Krug, Professor
of Education in History.

Schwartz Project in Citizenship Education

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Class Session One: **The Man and the Method**

The Road Ahead

Senator Samuel B. Second awoke with a start at the sound of the alarm. The sun was just coming up. He tried to remember his plans for the day. Surely he must have had something in mind when he asked to be called at 6 A.M., an hour before his usual rising time. Then he remembered -- and for a moment he wasn't sure whether that memory was a dream or a nightmare.

As Senator Second shaved and dressed, he reviewed the events of the past six months. Early in the year, when the ground was still covered with January ice, Samuel Second's name had first been mentioned as a possible contender for the presidential nomination of the Americana Party. When he had first seen his name in a news column about presidential hopefuls, Sam Second had been pleased that others viewed him as presidential timber.

"Do you think they are really serious?" he had asked his Senate office press aide. "I've tried hard to represent all the people of Illinois and I think I've done a good job. But I've always been rather outspoken on the issues and that hasn't made me popular in some political circles."

"Sam, don't be too modest," his press aide advised. "The voters today like to know where a man stands. They admire a political figure with conviction who fights hard for his beliefs. In addition, the party is facing a dangerous split. The liberals are pushing hard for Governor John Rocklin of New York. I can't believe the conservative wing of the party will accept him. Senator Ronald Stuart of California is their man."

"All right," Sam Second agreed. "I think the big fight for the nomination will be between Rocklin and Stuart. How do you think that affects my chances?"

"Well, you have the respect of both groups. You have a solid record as a senator and a reputation for thinking carefully before you act. You don't frighten the conservatives. Yet you've backed some good sound progressive legislation and

have the support of labor and minority groups in Illinois. The liberals respect you. If the convention deadlocks, and I think it will, the delegates will consider your qualifications carefully. Take my word -- Sam Second will come in first."

During the late winter and early spring months, Senator Second's supporters worked hard for their man. They wanted to give the Senator maximum exposure in news magazines and on television in order to acquaint people outside of Illinois with his political ideas. Senator Second stayed out of the presidential preference primaries; he agreed with his advisers that a primary defeat before he was nationally known would harm his chances for the nomination.

As delegates were selected by the different states, Sam Second's men quietly moved from state to state to make party leaders aware of his availability. Uncommitted delegates supporting Rocklin or Stuart were reminded that, if their man faltered, Senator Second might be a good second choice.

By late July when the convention opened, the battle between Rocklin and Stuart had become intense. Neither man had enough delegates for a first ballot nomination. Just as Senator Second's press aide had predicted, the convention deadlocked. Two, three, four, five ballots were taken. Neither candidate would give. Tempers began to fray; it was obvious that a compromise candidate had to be found. On the sixth ballot, Senator Second's strength began to grow. Two ballots later he went over the top to victory as the presidential nominee of the Americana Party. The selection of a vice-presidential running mate was quickly accomplished. The next evening Samuel Second and his running mate, Edwin Martin of Oklahoma, appeared before the convention to make their acceptance speeches.

Sam Second smiled as he recalled the enthusiastic reception of the delegates. He mentally ran through the concluding paragraphs of his speech, the declaration of purpose that had brought everyone in the convention hall to their feet:

"I accept your platform and your nomination. I accept your charge that this great party face the future with renewed purpose and unity. I accept the challenge of leadership in our great nation. Together we will go forward to victory."

The weeks ahead would not be easy ones, Sam Second knew. A man had to run hard if he wanted to win the presidency. He thought of Averill Harriman's statement that "the first and foremost quality of a Presidential candidate is that he should lust for the job -- he should want it more than all things, with a passion surpassing all emotion and probably even all principle."[1] Sam Second had not been sure that he could receive the nomination when he had first seen his name mentioned in that news column many months ago. Now he had won the nomination and he wanted to win the election. President Samuel B. Second -- he was beginning to like the sound.

The Committee Meets

During the years between conventions, the national committee of a political party has little to do. As convention time grows closer, however, the committee swings into action. The national party members - two from each state, a committeeman and a committeewoman - begin to make arrangements for the convention. The site is selected and the national committee issues the official convention call. State Chairmen are notified of the number of delegate votes their state will have at the convention. Hotel rooms and limousines are reserved, convention entertainment lined up, tickets printed and arrangements made for television and news coverage.

In the weeks before the convention, national party members serve on committees to determine convention rules, select temporary convention officers,

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[1] Quoted in The Making of the President 1964 by Theodore H. White, page 408.

review delegate credentials and write the party platform. While the convention is in session, national committee members are responsible for the smooth functioning of convention procedures.

Once the candidates have been nominated and the convention brought to a close, the national committee meets with the newly nominated presidential candidate to map out plans for the campaign. Important campaign positions are given to people who meet the candidate's approval and suit the needs and interests of the party. A new national chairman is selected, a man who the presidential nominee feels will be the most effective organizer of party efforts during the campaign. The national chairman is usually a top strategist, an old political hand who knows everyone in the party.

National committee members also may assist the contender in finding men for other important campaign posts. Second only in importance to the national chairman is the chairman of the finance committee. His major responsibility is to raise the millions of dollars that will be needed to finance a successful campaign. A step below the finance chairman in position is the head of the press and public relations division. He is charged with the task of publicizing the virtues of the candidate and the merits of the party. Strategy, money and publicity - these will be the ingredients of the campaign.

Once the national committee has met with the presidential nominee, the committee members return to their home states to assist in the development of state campaigns. The exhausted candidate then retires to a sunny vacation spot for a few weeks. Here, between rounds of golf or short fishing trips, he meets with his staff to work out the details of his campaign strategy.

Staff and Strategy

The candidate's high strategy board is usually made up of men from two levels of involvement. One group of strategists includes those from the national party - the national chairman, the chairman of the finance committee and the chairman of the press and public relations division. A second group consists of the

trusted friends and political associates who masterminded the candidate's successful drive for the nomination. Working together, this high strategy board decides how time and effort should be invested to get the highest return in votes.

Until recently, the two major political parties in the United States - the Democrats and the Republicans - followed certain set strategy patterns in election after election. The Democrats used to put little effort into the South which was sure to vote solid Democratic and virtually stayed out of the midwest farm states where voters were overwhelmingly Republican. Democratic time and money was concentrated upon the large industrial states of the East and far West. The Republicans, by contrast, knew that New England would vote Republican and that a state like Texas was Democratic territory. They worked hardest in the midwest and Rocky Mountain states. This traditional strategy began to break down in 1948 when Harry S. Truman, the Democratic candidate, carried the farm states. Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952 cracked the solid south and brought several southern states into the Republican fold.

In mapping campaign strategy, keen attention is paid to the number of electoral votes each state has. The twelve most populous stated in the United States - New York (43 electoral votes), California (40), Pennsylvania (29), Ohio (26), Illinois (26), Texas (25), Michigan (21), New Jersey (17), Massachusetts (14), Florida (14), North Carolina (13) and Indiana (13) - have a total of 281 electoral votes. A candidate who carries these twelve states has an electoral majority even if he receives no electoral votes in the other thirty-eight states. Certainly a man would be wise to devote a large share of his efforts to the important twelve states.

Not only does the high strategy board determine in which states to campaign the hardest but they also decide upon the nature of the campaign - how to attack the other party's record, how to lure away its voters, how to defend one's own party from attack. In 1960, part of Kennedy's grand strategy was to play up Nixon's Republicanism and the differences between the parties. Nixon, in turn, tried to play down his Republicanism in an effort to win Democratic voters.

Strategists also decide upon the main target for attack in the opposition party. The opposing candidate may not be the logical target. In 1920, the Republicans said little about Democratic candidate James Cox but harshly criticized outgoing President Woodrow Wilson and his support of the League of Nations. Harry S. Truman in 1948 ignored Republican candidate Thomas Dewey and emphasized in his campaign the unwillingness of the "Do-Nothing Republican Eightieth Congress" to enact liberal legislation. Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952 pictured Adlai Stevenson as the handpicked candidate of Truman, by then a thoroughly unpopular man. Lyndon Johnson and the war in Viet Nam was certainly a more potent target for the Republicans in 1968 than was Hubert Humphrey.

Where to campaign, what targets to attack, what issues to press - the decisions on these questions become the grand strategy for the campaign. Once the big topics have been discussed, more detailed campaign plans can be developed.

The Election of 1960

Certain presidential campaigns have captured the imagination of the American people because of the personalities of the candidates, the campaign strategies they employed, and the nature of the contest. One of the most interesting campaigns in recent years from the viewpoint of strategy was the Kennedy-Nixon battle in 1960. Theodore H. White in his book The Making of a President 1960 describes the strategies of these two men. First, the Kennedy plans:

"Almost all the key decisions that dominated the Kennedy campaign in the next ten weeks were taken at Hyannisport in early August; and in the execution of these decisions now made on the lawn or in his house in the days that followed, one must always recognize Robert Kennedy as the chief propelling force.

"First, the electoral strategy. Nine large states (New York, Pennsylvania, California, Michigan, Texas, Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey and Massachusetts) hold 237 of the 269 electoral votes necessary to elect a President. If these could be swept; and if another 60 or 70 electoral votes could be added by Lyndon B. Johnson in the Old South, and if a few more solid New England or Midwestern states could

be counted in - then the election would be won handily. Thus, grand strategy: to concentrate the supreme Kennedy effort in the industrial Northeast, where seven states of the big nine clustered; Johnson would have to carry his native Texas; the candidate would give four of his personally numbered campaign days to California, and Adlai E. Stevenson would carry the rest of the freight there.

"Next, the strategy of registration. Of the 107,000,000 Americans old enough to vote in 1960, approximately 40,000,000, it was estimated, had not bothered to register. Students of politics argue this figure both ways - the moralists saying that it is every man's civic duty to register and vote, the realists that those too indifferent or too ignorant to vote should be left undisturbed, for their vote is valueless. For the Kennedys, however, the compelling consideration was the generally accepted political guess that of the 40,000,000 unregistered voters, 70 per cent would vote Democratic if they could be pushed to the polls. Thus a massive registration drive would be mounted to bring 10,000,000 new names to the voting lists; if the new 10,000,000 broke as expected, it would mean 7,000,000 more Democratic votes. This drive was to be entrusted to a flamboyant and devoted Kennedy Congressman from Trenton, New Jersey, Frank "Topper" Thompson, a specialist in registration drives in his own district. (Within two months, Thompson was to be directing fifty state registration chairmen, two hundred key county registration chairmen and a paid staff of eight highly trained 'leaders' headed by a thirty-three-year-old professor of English. In all, the Kennedy efforts combined with the counterpart Nixon drive were to jump the 1960 vote over the 1956 count by 6,800,000"[1]

To these two strategies were added an efficient plan for scheduling campaign activities, a well-worked out set of ideas for campaign speeches and a well coordinated campaign organization. As August began, all the strategy decisions had been made. John F. Kennedy was ready to begin.

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[1] The Making of the President 1960 by Theodore H. White, page 283.

Richard Nixon also gave careful attention to matters of strategy. White describes his plans in these words:

> "There were elements in the Vice-President's personal planning obviously parallel with the hard elements of Kennedy planning. Where the Kennedy's identified nine states as the chief battleground, Nixon identified a big seven (California, New York, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, Michigan.)

Where the Kennedys worried about the suburban vote and the Protestant vote, Nixon worried about the farm vote and the Catholic vote. Nixon also moved immediately to the creation of a massive Citizens for Nixon-Lodge organization across the country; and, untroubled by the feuds that divided Party machine from restive reformers on the Democratic side, he mobilized in the end a citizen movement as effective as the classic Eisenhower citizen mobilization of 1952.

"Where the Nixon strategy departed from the Kennedy strategy was in style - in an intuitive difference in appreciation of the rhythm and mystique of American electioneering.

"There was, first, and governing the entire Republican campaign, the Nixon theory of 'pace.' Where the Kennedy clan believes in starting early and running flat out all the way, the Nixon theory is that there is a rhythm and natural tide in any great campaign. A campaign, according to the Nixon theory, has its ebbs and surges; and it is essential not to 'peak' a campaign too early, essential not to 'weary' the public, essential to change mood and pace at the appropriate moment.

'Specifically, then, the Nixon campaign would be paced this way; it would open in a bland low key of quiet confidence and optimism. 'We have to erase the image of pugnacity first' was the way the Nixon campaigners in Round One phrased it, or as Nixon is reported to have replied in early October when he was already under attack from Republican regulars for his 'kid-glove' campaign, 'I have to erase the Herblock image first.' Gradually as October wore on he would take off the kid

gloves and step up the pace of the attack. Finally in the last three weeks of the campaign he would unload, with every 'control element' of TV and media advertising the Republican National Committee could finance, and let Kennedy have it. The corollary of the theory of 'peak and pacing' was 'flexibility'.

"'We have to keep control,' said one of Nixon's planners in August, 'of our own timing. We can't freeze on schedule too early. We can't let him get caught in a situation where he loses his flexibility.' Thus while the Kennedy campaign was frozen as early as Labor Day in trip schedule and concentration of personal effort (only two days were left open on the Kennedy schedule to strike at geographic targets of opportunity), the Nixon campaign kept its datings and movements open well into October to permit the candidate to choose his targets of opportunity as they rose."

"Paradoxically, however, along with his insistence on 'flexibility' the candidate rigidly froze himself to his original convention pledge of a 'fifty-state' campaign. Nixon had first expressed the desire to do an every-state campaign in the 1956 election- but he had been overruled at that time, for it seemed unwise to Republican strategists of 1956 that the husky and vigorous young Vice-President make such a demonstration of vitality when Eisenhower, only barely recovered from heart attack and ileitis, could not match the performance. Now that he, Nixon, was on his own he meant to revive the 1956 idea; it seemed to him a dramatic demonstration of the 'national image' he meant to create. All through the campaign, as the race narrowed and it became obvious that it would be won or lost in the teetering industrial Northeastern states, Nixon was cramped by his public pledge - so that on the last week end of the campaign, as Kennedy barnstormed through populous Illinois, New Jersey, New York and New England, Nixon found himself committed to fly all the way north to Alaska, which offered only three electoral votes."

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[1] Theodore H. White in The Making of the President, pages 302-303.

Student Assignment

Samuel B. Second has to select an electoral strategy for his campaign. He must decide which of the fifty states he can count on, which are likely to be lost to him and which might go to him if he campaigns hard within their borders.

The chart that follows shows how each of the fifty states has cast its electoral vote in the six elections from 1948-1968. Study this chart carefully and see if you can divide the states into three groups: states that usually go Democratic, states that usually go Republican, states that swing back and forth between the two parties.

What electoral strategy do you think Sam Second would use if he were the candidate of the Democratic Party? The Republican Party? Select one of these and map out an electoral strategy for Senator Second as the candidate of that party. Be prepared to describe and defend your electoral strategy for Senator Second in class tomorrow.

STATE BY STATE PRESIDENTIAL RETURNS, 1948-1968

STATE	ELECTORAL VOTE	1948	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968
Alabama	10	SR	D	D	D	R	W
Alaska	3				R	D	R
Arizona	5	D	R	R	R	R	R
Arkansas	6	D	D	D	D	D	W
California	40	D	R	R	R	D	R
Colorado	6	D	R	R	R	D	R
Connecticut	8	R	R	R	D	D	D
Delaware	3	R	R	R	D	D	R
District of Columbia						D	D
Florida	14	D	R	R	R	D	R
Georgia	12	D	D	D	D	R	W
Hawaii	4				D	D	D
Idaho	4	D	R	R	R	D	R
Illinois	26	D	R	R	D	D	R
Indiana	13	R	R	R	R	D	R
Iowa	9	D	R	R	R	D	R
Kansas	7	R	R	R	R	D	R
Kentucky	9	D	D	R	R	D	R
Louisiana	10	SR	D	R	D	R	W
Maine	4	R	R	R	D	D	D
Maryland	10	D	R	R	D	D	D
Massachusetts	14	D	R	R	D	D	D
Michigan	21	R	R	R	D	D	D
Minnesota	10	D	R	R	D	D	D
Mississippi	7	SR	D	D	*	R	W
Missouri	12	D	R	D	D	D	R
Montana	4	D	R	R	R	D	R

STATE BY STATE PRESIDENTIAL RETURNS, 1948-1968

STATE	ELECTORAL VOTE	1948	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968
Nebraska	5	R	R	R	R	D	R
Nevada	3	D	R	R	D	D	R
New Hampshire	4	D	R	R	R	D	R
New Jersey	17	R	R	R	D	D	R
New Mexico	4	D	R	R	D	D	R
New York	43	R	R	R	D	D	D
North Carolina	13	D	D	D	D	D	R
North Dakota	4	R	R	R	R	D	R
Ohio	26	D	R	R	R	R	R
Oklahoma	8	D	R	R	R	D	R
Oregon	6	R	R	R	R	D	R
Pennsylvania	29	R	R	R	D	D	D
Rhode Island	4	D	R	R	D	D	D
South Carolina	8	SR	D	D	D	D	R
South Dakota	4	R	R	R	R	D	R
Tennessee	11	D	R	R	R	D	R
Texas	25	D	R	R	D	D	D
Utah	4	D	R	R	R	D	R
Vermont	3	R	R	R	R	D	R
Virginia	12	D	R	R	R	D	R
Washington	9	D	R	R	R	D	D
West Virginia	7	D	D	R	D	D	D
Wisconsin	12	D	R	R	R	D	R
Wyoming	3	D	R	R	R	D	R
Winning Party		D	R	R	D	D	R

D - Democratic Party
R - Republican Party
SR - States' Right Party
W - Wallace (American Independent Party)
* - 8 independent electors voted for Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr. of Virginia

Class Session Two: **The Campaign Trail**

Campaign Capers

The rigorous schedule which a presidential candidate follows today is in sharp contrast to the modest demands made upon contenders in earlier days of our nation's history. In 1840, William Henry Harrison's managers were advised by his campaign chairman: "Let him say not one single word about his principles or his creed - let him say nothing - promise nothing. Let no committee, no conventions, no town meeting ever extract from him a single word about what he thinks now or will do hereafter. Let the use of pen and ink be wholly forbidden."

Candidates of that time were expected, as was Harrison, to maintain a dignified silence while their supporters carried on the campaign. Although candidates were quiet, the campaigns were not. The country was stormed by parades, drinking parties, song fests and rallies. Hugh balls were rolled from one city to another. Badges, sashes, pennants and lithographs were distributed. By the time Harrison's election victory came, his defeated rival, Martin Van Buren, said sadly that he had been "lied down, drunk down and sung down."

Even during the critical election of 1860, while his three opponents took to the stump, Abraham Lincoln remained at home in Springfield and made no speeches. Ulysses S. Grant's opponents in the elections of 1868 and 1872 campaigned actively against him but the General said nothing and won handily both times.

With some exceptions, nineteenth century candidates did not campaign vigorously for the presidency. The theory of the times was that "the office seeks the man." Only James A. Garfield in 1880 can be classified as a major party candidate who openly campaigned for votes. Then in 1892, James Weaver - standard bearer for the Populist Party - decided that an active campaign was a good idea. Weaver stumped the West to urge farmers "to raise less corn and more hell."

At the end of the century the tradition that a candidate should remain silent began to die out. William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic candidate in 1896, set

a record for cross-country campaigning that still stands. Bryan travelled through 29 states, speaking at every village and hamlet through which his campaign train passed. He made 600 speeches during his campaign, 36 of them on one day alone. His victorious opponent, Republican William McKinley, stayed in Ohio and met with state delegations who journeyed to his home. McKinley's "front porch" campaign proved to be the better tactic.

In the early 1900's the railroad train came into its own as a travelling campaign headquarters. At first, candidates spoke from the rear of the train. The Populists, who could not afford to hire trains, tried to prevent other candidates from using them. Legislatures in states controlled by Populist representatives passed laws prohibiting political gatherings less than 200 feet from a railroad track. These laws eliminated the possibility of a rear platform address. But the candidates of the major parties were not so easily stopped. Their supporters set up platforms at the legal limit and invited crowds to gather. The assembled voters were entertained by local speakers until the campaign train rolled in. A carriage would speed the presidential candidate from train to platform. At the sound of the train whistle, the candidate would be whisked back to his train. Thus the phrase "whistle stop campaign" was born.

By the first decade of the twentieth century, the idea that a candidate must travel throughout the country and speak directly to the voters was becoming a tradition. Campaign trains were greeted by excited crowds. At each stop, the pattern was the same. The candidate stepped out onto the rear platform to speak. He first paid tribute to the landscape and praised some local achievement. Then he roundly damned the opposition and defended his own party's accomplishments. A few local politicians were then introduced and, just before the train pulled out, the candidate's wife and family would be presented. With a final wave, the candidate bade his supporters farewell. The train sped onward to the next stop where the whole performance would be repeated.

Incumbent presidents did not feel it necessary to campaign as hard as did the candidates of the party out of power. This rule was not observed, however, by

William Howard Taft in 1912. Facing a split in the Republican Party following ex-President Theodore Roosevelt's defection to the Progressive Party, Taft left the White House and took to the road. "Even a rat will fight," he said, "when driven into a corner."

The pressure of campaigning in the days of cross country campaign trains was almost unbelievable. Wendell Willkie, the Republican candidate in 1940, travelled 28,000 miles and gave a total of 540 talks, sometimes as many as 12 a day. The strain in Willkie's voice was so great that a throat specialist was added to the campaign entourage. Harry S. Truman, the last of the great "whistle-stop" campaigners, covered 22,000 miles and gave 375 speeches in his successful campaign for re-election in 1948.

The airplane began to replace the train as the candidate's mode of transportation by the election of 1952. With the greater speed of the plane, mileages covered by candidates increased but the number of speeches per day was greatly reduced. Dwight D. Eisenhower travelled 50,000 miles by plane in 1952 while his opponent, Adlai Stevenson, logged almost 33,000 miles.

Even in this jet age, some candidates feel it important to re-create the fun and excitement of the campaign train. To many voters, the train still symbolizes the old virtues of personal contact. A candidate who seeks votes in this manner proves he is still one of the people. Television crews often are assigned to accompany such a train so that national coverage is given to each "whistle stop." Lyndon Johnson, campaigning for the vice-presidency in 1960, cut through the south on the "Corn Pone Special." Robert Kennedy's bid for delegate votes in the Indiana primary in 1968 was aided by his use of the "Wabash Cannonball."

A campaign today is based upon an accumulation of customs that have grown up over the years. To the campaign buttons and slogans of earlier days have been added the campaign tour and the big city rally of today. The purpose of a campaign, however, remains the same: to unify the forces of the party organization in the drive toward victory.

Organization Pays

Once the basic strategy for a campaign has been worked out, the organizational wheels begin to grind. A vast campaign entourage is set up. Transportation chairmen, advance men, research assistants and a stable of speechwriters are required. Even such a seemingly minor matter as the selection of airline hostesses for the candidate's plane is given careful attention. No campaign has ever been hurt by newspaper pictures of photogenic young stewardesses.

The question of where the major authority for managing the campaign will lie must be settled. The national committee, which theoretically has the management of the campaign as one of its major tasks, may not play an important policy-making role in campaigns today. The candidate may set up a separate campaign organization if he feels the national committee lacks the leadership or expertise to activate the comprehensive operation needed to sell him to the voters. In 1960, the Kennedy forces set up a unified campaign organization that integrated the efforts of personal friends and supporters with those of the national committee. Robert Kennedy served as the manager of the campaign organization while Senator Henry Jackson was head of the Democratic National Committee. The facilities of the national committee were meshed with those of Kennedy's personal campaign team and its greatly increased staff reported to both Jackson and Robert Kennedy.

Some confusion occurred even in this highly unified campaign. There was often conflict between the "loyal few" who had been with John Kennedy since the first stirrings of his drive for the nomination and the party leaders who came in after his nomination by the convention. Kennedy admitted that "the senatorial group resented the idea that things had to be expanded in a presidential campaign and tended to suspect every new face." Despite this problem, the two groups worked together cooperatively and put forth a unified effort.

By contrast, Adlai Stevenson in 1952 and Richard Nixon in 1960 used a dual organization. Both men were "heirs" to an incumbent president. Neither was successful in integrating his own campaign organization with that of the national committee. Stevenson set up campaign headquarters in Springfield, Illinois, hoping

by this action to disassociate himself from the mistakes of the Truman Administration. The Democratic National Committee operated in a somewhat isolated fashion in Washington - a situation that party leaders described as a "two headed monstrosity."

Sub-organizational groups are usually established to operate within the larger campaign organization. Often, geographic territories are set up with key men selected to mastermind the drive in these areas. Each area presents special problems. Area coordinators can often work out these problems, unify state and local efforts, and report on campaign progress to the top leadership. The better the flow of communication between these areas and the national campaign manager, the more effective the total operation.

The efforts of thousands of volunteer workers must also be coordinated with the overall organization. And if professional politicians are suspicious of each other, they are even more suspicious of the well-intentioned volunteers who besiege party headquarters with offers of help. Not until the election of 1952 did the national parties give full attention to the problem of relationships between volunteer and party groups. That year, Citizens for Eisenhower and Volunteers for Stevenson were organized on a national basis to assist the party regulars. Now no campaign is complete without such auxiliary groups as Scientists For, Educators For, Independents For and so on. In 1960, the Kennedy campaign organization set up "coordinators" brought from out of state to arbitrate between citizen and organization groups across the nation.

The efforts of family members and personal friends must also be fitted into the organizational pattern. A candidate with a large attractive family and with devoted friends can count upon thousands of hours of free manpower. Franklin Roosevelt's sons became articulate spokesmen for their father, while Mrs. Roosevelt was almost as popular a campaigner as F. D. R. himself. The Kennedy family probably did more to advance John F. Kennedy's cause than any family in previous election history. Certainly in 1968 the Nixon daughters, Patricia and Julie, along

with Julie's fiancé, young David Eisenhower, added an important dimension of wholesome charm to the Republican campaign.

By the time a campaign is completely put together, the organizational structure is likely to be as complex as that of the largest corporate enterprises. Personal staff, party leaders, volunteers, friends and family - all have a role to play and these roles must be defined and inter-related. But the major ingredient of any campaign is the candidate himself. No question is more important than that of his schedule.

Speeches and Schedules

Scheduling for a campaign is an art in itself. As Theodore H. White states: "Each day, each minute of a candidate's time is counted, from the moment he launches his campaign until he goes to bed on election eve. To use that time most effectively, schedules have to be meshed and geared with political need, with the requirements of time and transportation, with the shepherding of a herd of newsmen and staffmen at the candidate's heels, with the feuds and sensitivities of all local political leaders."[1]

First to be fitted into the campaign schedule are the "must" appearances. National gatherings of the American Legion and the AFL-CIO are required places for major speeches on military policy and labor affairs. The National Chamber of Commerce can be assured a speech on business or taxes. Candidates must participate in some way in a Labor Day salute to working men and no candidate can afford to by-pass the Columbus Day Parade in New York.

Once these slots have been scheduled, the competing demands of other groups are weighed. Preference is usually given to appearances in the more populous states and in states where senatorial or gubernatorial candidates of the party are facing a close race. Visits to large cities where a crowd of cheering supporters can be

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[1] The Making of the President 1960, by Theodore H. White, page 283.

counted upon to fill an auditorium are coordinated with the candidate's television schedule.

The pattern as a candidate and his entourage swing into a major city is a predictable one. An airport delegation of supporters is on hand as he gets off his plane. He then enters an open car and a motorcade takes him into the city. Perhaps he will stop at a large shopping center to shake a few hands or visit a local campaign headquarters. A meeting with local leaders may be followed by dinner and a short rest in an elegant suite of the city's best hotel. Then he joins another motorcade to the amphitheatre where the crowd, brought to partisan heights by a series of preliminary speeches, roars their greeting. His address, punctuated by appropriate cheers, will probably be carried as a paid political program by a major television network.

In addressing street rallies and smaller groups, the candidate often relies on his standard stump speech. This talk combines all the best issues and punch lines into a simple, hard-hitting package. It contains all the applause pulling and laugh getting lines. Nobody writes this speech. It seems to write itself as the campaign goes on. It is carried along from rally to rally, altered slightly each time to include local jokes, references to recent news events and praise of local politicians. Unlike the standard speech, the television speech will be a well researched and carefully polished statement on a major issue.

The organizational effort that must go into a visit to a major city defies imagination. This check list prepared by public relations man Gerald A. Robinson for a Rockefeller-for-Governor rally in 1966 provides an indication of the preparation for one rally alone:

"I. Invitations: (a) telegrams to county chairmen; (b) mail cards to volunteers; (c) bulk invitations to organizations.

II. Program: (a) music - rock 'n' roll combo; (b) celebrities; (c) emcee; (d) introductions and speeches; (e) balloon and streamer drop from ledge overhead; (f) decorate upstairs headquarters with bunting and posters.

III. Equipment: (a) flat bed truck with mounting steps; (b) police parking permit; (c) platform for TV cameras; (d) sign for front of hotel, U.S. and state flags; (e) sound equipment, two speakers on flat bed, two on station wagons roaming area to bring crowd; (f) 150 hand signs on sticks, 160 hats, 50 sashes, 500 buttons, 500 balloons, 50 pre-rally signs saying "At noon today" to be posted in AM; (g) "Days to Go" sign with removable numbers placed next to elevator in headquarters; (h) walkie-talkie communications.

IV. Crowd: (a) telephone team calling volunteers three days before rally; (b) Young Republicans to guarantee 150; (c) tables in crowd with 3 girls manning each to sign up volunteers; (d) police notified and present.

V. Press Arrangements: (a) invitations; (b) TV arrangements and power; (c) 'phone follow-up to invitations."[1]

The rally described above was a small one, set up for the opening of a campaign headquarters, and was attended by about a thousand people. For a major rally in a large city auditorium, the complexities are multiplied by about fifteen. Good campaign managers usually distribute ten times as many tickets as there are seats in the hall. Woe be unto the manager if there are empty seats when the television cameras pan the balcony.

Throughout the campaign, the effect of the candidate on three different groups is carefully analyzed. Theodore H. White in The Making of the President 1960 writes about these groups (or audiences):

"The first of the audiences, in size, is always the national audience. Two score newspapermen and reporters of the great national news media follow doggedly in his wake day after day. Twice a day, to please them, the candidate must choke

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[1] The New Language of Politics by William Safire, pages 371-372.

out a statement or prepared speech to provide both afternoon and morning newspapers across the country with fresh copy, a fresh report of his doings. A thicket of microphones sprouts before him at each stop, recording what he says for rebroadcast later, in one- or two-minute snatches, on the national radio networks. TV cameras pursue him, seeking film clips for evening shows. Through all these, the candidate reaches the national audience, the many millions who idly watch the evening television news or hastily scan the morning newspapers. Not for days or weeks will the candidate know the effect of any speech or statement on the national mood or on the minority group to which it is specifically addressed.

"There follows the second audience, the strategically calculated audience. The candidate has picked out individual states, counted their electoral votes, and now he works them one by one. In each state the local newspapers and weeklies, the local TV stations and radios, swoop on the arrival of the great man as Event. On either side of his path, and in a great circle about his every stop, spreading over the entire circulation area of the large newspaper or listening audience of the major radio station, the citizens of the state are aware of the presence and the visit. He lays a powder train of excitement wherever he goes. If the candidate makes a speech in St. Louis, it is only a paragraph in the newspapers of San Francisco or New York - but in St. Louis it is a front-page story, and the front page blooms with pictures. Impact has been made on the state directly; the leading local dignitaries have been met and ignited; the volunteer organizations have assembled and have been tuned up, their enthusiasm at this personal visit must now spread and kindle others.

"Then comes the personal audience, so small in numbers as to be minuscule - yet more important than any other. These are the men in work shirts and sport shirts, the women in house dresses with babies in arms, the farmers observing silently, the students listening intently, the bobby-soxers yipping and squealing. These are the people who gather at whistle stops, at airports, at crossroads, in numbers so tiny that there is no point in expending the effort of formal speech writing or policy making to capture their attention. But these are the people

who count most. For the candidate, whoever he is, sits at the center of a web of affairs so complex as to be dehumanized; his ideas, his phrases, his finances, his schedules, are all prepared for him by others; wherever he pauses to consult with staff, he must already make the detached executive decisions of a President. Thus only the personal audience, below the level of strategic calculation, can give him the one thing he needs most: the response of warmth or frost, of applause or indifference. Its laughter, its scowl, its silence, its cheers, it yearning, its measuring eyes, are the only clues in the mystic communication between the leader and the led, to tell truly whether he has reached those he seeks to lead. Becoming President is an utterly personal business between the man who offers himself as national leader and the Americans who judge him. The candidate must feel the beat of the people he hopes to lead; their heart is his target. And no public-opinion poll or analysis can tell him half so well whether he has reached that target as can the people themselves, giving him the beat of their response."[1]

Somewhere in the early weeks of the campaign, the candidate begins to hit the stride and find the style that will take him forward to victory or defeat. The carefully laid campaign plans fall into place. The team begins to function. The candidate is on his way.

Student Assignment

Samuel Second has been on the campaign trail for six weeks. The next few weeks will be critical ones. He is most concerned about a major appearance in New York City where he will address a Harlem Street rally, speak briefly at a luncheon meeting of business and civic leaders and deliver a major television address on the draft at Madison Square Garden in the evening. In this speech, he will strongly support the substitution of a well paid volunteer army for the present system of compulsory military training.

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[1] The Making of the President 1960, by Theodore H. White, pages 290-291.

You have been assigned to cover Senator Second's day in New York for your school newspaper. Select one of the following activities as your assignment:

1. Write a news article on the events of Senator Second's campaign day.

2. Interview Senator Second on his campaign and write a feature article about him.

3. Draw a political cartoon showing your view of Senator Second's position on the draft.

4. Write an ad for the school paper announcing Senator Second's speech at Madison Square Garden.

5. Make an illustrated dictionary of these campaign terms: campaign trail, motorcade, rally, stump, whistle-stop.

Class Session Three: **Money Talks**

How Many Millions?

The final reports on expenditures for the 1968 campaign are still incomplete. The total bill in 1964, however, including the major party committees, was almost $35 million for national level operations. In addition large amounts of money for the presidential campaign was spent by state and local party organizations. For political campaigning at all levels in 1964, an estimated $200 million was spent. This compares with $175 million in 1960, $155 million in 1956 and $140 million in 1952.[1]

The $35 million national cost in 1964 did not include the cost of pre-convention campaigns or of the national conventions themselves. It did include most of the major costs of the general election campaign - television and radio time, billboards, postage, paper, photographs, printing, addressing, telephone service, candidate and staff travel, private public opinion polls, speaker expenses, headquarters operation, staff salaries and election day expenses.

Raising these vast sums of money is the responsibility of the national party finance chairman. Upon his shoulders rests the task of organizing a hard-hitting drive that will convince wealthy individuals, large corporations, labor unions - and to a lesser extent, average citizens - to contribute to the party. Fortunately, the finance chairman can depend upon state and local party organizations for part of the money. In a certain sense, however, the national committee competes with these groups for campaign funds since state and local organizations can realistically use all the money they raise for their own activities. The competition for the campaign dollar is keen.

National parties try to persuade as many people as possible to support the party by encouraging small contributions. Yet the finance chairman knows that the largest share of the money will come from well organized groups and well heeled

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[1] Choosing the President, League of Women Voters, page 45.

individuals. The greatest obstacle to spreading the cost of a campaign over the electorate is the reluctance of lower or middle income voters to open their wallets and give. The President's Commission on Campaign Costs appointed by President Kennedy in 1961, reported in 1962: "No problem has become more troublesome than that of providing adequate financial support for campaigns. A chronic difficulty in maintaining adequate support has been the lurking suspicion that contributing to political parties is somehow a shoddy business. This is unfortunate. Improvement of public understanding of campaign finance is essential."[1]

Finance chairmen know they can count on different types of money coming in at different times during the campaign. Robert Bendiner in his book White House Fever discusses how campaign managers evaluate contributions:

"Campaign people have their own way of evaluating contributions, and they know almost as many varieties of money as a European currency broker. There is 'early money,' which comes in before the nomination and is therefore the most speculative. Accordingly, it rates high in appreciation, assuming that the amount is significant - normally, the candidate himself won't know about gifts of less than $2,000. Then there is 'late money,' which comes in when the donor can make a good guess as to which horse will win. One would think that such donation rated low on the scale, but if they come in the nick of time to help pay for a television program or to get the campaign train rolling, they are likely to be remembered more vividly and with more gratitude than early gifts.

"A shower of five- and ten-dollar contributions of the kind that poured in on Stevenson in 1952 is regarded as 'emotional money', financially helpful only in a limited way, but psychologically valuable. A nominee will make much of it to indicate his support among the people. He will probably carry around with him, to share with his audiences, a few of the covering letters blessing him and expressing

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[1] Quoted in Choosing the President, League of Women Voters, pages 45-46

the wish that the writer could send more - but 'prices have been so bad for us farmers,' or he has been out of work for three months, or his pension has been cut in half by inflation. These make particularly good reading at whistle stops.

" 'Official money' is the contribution that comes in from the holder of a high post in the administration. It is no secret that Cabinet members and the heads of agencies are expected to support the party that has lifted them up. Truman's Secretary of Defense, James V. Forrestal, assumed with millions of others that his boss had no chance of re-election. When he accordingly declined to make an unsound investment in the Truman campaign, he was unwittingly writing his resignation. He was succeeded, ironically, by Louis Johnson, the man whose job it had been to collect Truman money.

"Contestants can count on a certain amount of 'hedging money,' that is, contributions that are made to both parties as a kind of insurance. This is a business practice rather than an individual aberration, and it is usually done by having one vice-president of the corporation help the Democrats while the president and board chairman do somewhat better by the Republicans. Still, it is money. More common, and an extreme form of hedging, is what might be called 'after-the-battle money.' These post-election gifts are a form of reparation and a frank bid to get into the good graces of the victor. Roosevelt drew a considerable volume of such cash in 1936. Truman, too, after his surprise victory received a number of contributions from industrialists and businessmen who had somehow neglected to get their checks in before November 4. A party chairman may smile a little scornfully at these tardy gifts, but he always takes them. They are useful for mopping up the postcampaign deficit."[1]

Even with money coming in at staggered intervals during the campaign, most national presidential campaigns operate at a substantial deficit. Adlai Stevenson in

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[1] White House Fever by Robert Bendiner, pages 160-162.

1952 was forced to dip into his personal bank account for money to pay for television time a half-an-hour before he was scheduled to go on the air. The campaign coffers were empty. Hubert Humphrey's 1968 campaign ability to reach people through television speeches or spot announcements was seriously hampered by the shortage of contributions to his campaign during its early weeks.

Trying to run a campaign on a cash basis can lead to disaster. Barry Goldwater's attempt to run a balanced budget campaign is described by Theodore H. White in The Making of the President 1964:

"The strategy board talked, ruminated, met on some Sundays for as long as four hours. But what it discussed was mechanics: schedules, tours, advertising, television shows, organization. And here largely the power of veto lay with the finance chairman. There is no businessman who, when introduced as financial chairman to a campaign, does not become overnight an expert on television, images and voter impulses. But Cordiner was exceptional. He and Goldwater had agreed that this campaign, for one, was going to be run on a balanced budget, and that they would end it in the black, Now, the sad truth about any major candidacy is that it must run on credit. Every headquarters is always destitute when it needs money most-in September; then in late October and early November money comes pouring in as emotions heat the common people and the arms of big contributors are twisted to breaking. Thus, since the headquarters was broke at the beginning of the campaign, Cordiner insisted that the previous advance time spots on national television for the last ten days of the campaign - booked in the early weeks with such difficulty from grudging networks - be canceled. When finally, in late October, money came pouring into Republican national headquarters like confetti and a desperate effort was made to reinstate these time spots, it was impossible; they had been pre-empted. Cordiner ended the campaign with an historic record for a financial chairman: the largest surplus in dollars ever shown by any campaign - and the largest deficit in votes and offices lost too."[1]

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[1] The Making of the President 1964 by Theodore H. White, page 379

Once the campaign is over, the finance chairman faces a problem as grave as that of raising money for the campaign - wiping out the deficit. If the party's candidate has won the election, this task is not such a difficult one. Somehow the money seems to flow into the party. The party of a defeated candidate has a harder time. One of the assumed obligations of the defeated candidate is to speak at fund raising dinners throughout the country in an attempt to pay off the party debts. Many times, political parties have in this way eaten themselves toward solvency.

Despite all the difficulties, money is obtained to finance the presidential campaigns. There are five general ways through which funds are raised: (1) fund raising dinners, (2) gift solicitations, (3) sustaining funds, (4) collections by other groups, and (5) quotas.

The League of Women Voters handbook, Choosing the President compares the use of these fund raising methods by the Democratic and Republican parties:

"The Republicans and the Democrats do not raise money in precisely the same way. 'The Republican party has developed a far more effective money-raising apparatus than have the Democrats. In its broad conception, the scheme is one of specialization - the businessmen raise the money and the politicians spend it.' Republican party financing is done by separate united finance committees which put on drives for the regular organization, for example, the Republican National Finance Committee or the United Republican Finance Committee of New York.

"Democratic party financing is usually carried on through regular party committees controlled by party officials. It has been described as 'frantic' and 'frenzied' but it has the advantage of being a tool to achieve greater party responsibility. In recent years the trend has been towards more systematic fund-raising. The Democrats have never done a better job of fund-raising for a national campaign than in 1964.

"In the past the national revenue of both parties has been heavily dependent upon large contributions and fund-raising dinners. Both parties have reaped huge profits from dinners, cocktail parties, galas and banquets with closed-circuit

television. Contributions over $500 ordinarily comprise 'two-thirds of the income received by national campaign groups from individual givers.' But in 1964 this was true of the Democratic party only.

" 'The financial base of Democratic support was comprised mostly of a wide geographic and occupational diversity of large contributors. About 69 percent of the dollar value of total individual contributions came in sums of $500 and over.' The combination of the President's Club and fund-raising dinners provided the Democrats with most of their funds for the national-level campaign. The President's Club had 4,000 members throughout the country (including some disenchanted Republicans) contributing at least $1,000 each. At the same time there was an important decrease in emphasis on small contributors, on the Democratic National Committee Sustaining Fund and on the national Dollars for Democrats program.

"On the other hand, only 28 percent of the dollar value of Republican individual contributions was in sums of $500 or over. The unparalleled number of small contributors to Republican committees was the result of massive direct mail drives and effective television appeals for funds which broadened their appeal dramatically. An unprecedented 32 percent of total income was from direct mail and almost 14 percent from television appeals.

"Despite their large numbers of contributors in smaller sums, the Republicans also received substantial funds from their Associates Program, consisting of 1500 contributors of $1,000 or more. This provided 12 percent of their total national income.

"Republican fund-raising experience in 1964 was marked by the breakdown of the unified fund raising structure developed in recent decades. Some of this was due to the large investment of time, energy and money which the Republicans since 1962 have consciously devoted to building a national Sustaining Fund. Both parties try to solicit $10 dues-paying members, but this source is important in presidential campaign financing only for the Republicans.

"For years, the Republicans used a quota system with considerable success.

Quotas were assigned to state organizations for contribution to the national level, although some states rarely met their assessments. Recently the Democrats tried the quota system but no longer use it. Instead they negotiate with each state for support of the national party.

"Actually in 1964 the Democratic financial effort experienced to some extent a change in direction. It is said that the Democrats entered the 1964 presidential campaign with a deficit. However, their direct fund-raising techniques, including membership in the President's Club and galas and fund-raising dinners, were so successful that rather than attempting to get state and local funds to move steadily up to the national level, national committees made a substantial effort to channel funds they had collected down to state and local committees for congressional and other campaigns so that the expected presidential landslide could pay off for state and congressional Democratic candidates.

"Democrats raised enough at the national level to be able to contribute $2.3 million to state groups for registration drives and other purposes, to give twice as much to candidates for Congress as in 1960, and to direct certain funds to congressional campaigns and to registration drives that would benefit the party at all levels.

"No doubt because of these diversions of funds, the Democratic presidential campaign in 1964 ended with a deficit of about $1 million (compared with a larger $3.8 million deficit in 1960)." [1]

Down the Hatch

Although Americans individually do not rush to contribute to the candidate of their choice, they are insistent that some restrictions be applied to very large contributors. Older political practices, when politicians openly accepted bribes or

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[1] Choosing the President, League of Women Voters, pages 46-48

payoffs for acting as requested, have left citizens with a fear that a man who contributes too heavily to a campaign will seek to control the candidate. In 1940, Congress passed the Hatch Act which set a limit of $5000 on individual contributions to each presidential candidate and each campaign committee within a calendar year. The Hatch Act also limited annual expenditures of national committees to $3 million.

Both of these provisions are easily circumvented. Although an individual may contribute only $5000 to each committee, the Hatch Act does not prevent him from making contributions to a number of different presidential national committees. In the same way, the $3 million limitation on national committee expenditures is overcome by setting up several national committees to spend money. The duplication of effort by so many committees wastes time and complicates the financial control of the campaign. The President's Committee on Campaign Costs recommended the repeal of these two provisions of the Hatch Act.

Maintaining that today only a rich man can afford to run for the presidency, Senator Russell Long of Louisiana introduced in 1966 the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act. The Act provided that a taxpayer each year could have the opportunity of checking a box on his income tax to allocate $1 of his tax return to a Special Presidential Campaign Fund. The monies thus allocated would be placed in a fund administered by the General Accounting Office. Allocations from the fund would be made in this fashion:

1. Political parties that polled 15 million votes in the last presidential election would be compensated on an equal share basis from the fund for actual presidential campaign expenses or at a rate of $1 times the total number of votes over 10 million, whichever amount is lower.

2. A minority party, one polling more than 5 million but less than 15 million votes in the last presidential election, would get $1 for each vote above 5 million. (It should be noted that no minority party in the United States history has polled more than 5 million votes. The American Independent Party headed by George C. Wallace did get over 10 million votes in 1968 but Wallace supporters now consider their party to be a major political party).

Senator Long estimated that under the provision of his act each of the two major political parties would receive $30 million or more for a presidential campaign.

Critics of Senator Long's bill saw these defects in it. First, they maintained that the fund would give a tremendous advantage to the two major parties and thus make third party organization more difficult. Second, they argued that the fund's guarantee of large amounts of money to the parties would place them under obligation to Congress and in that way reinforce Congressional domination of the party system. Third, they stated that raising money from private sources makes the parties more responsible to the needs of the public from which it must get funds. The Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act was defeated in the Senate in 1968 by a coalition of senators led by Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts.

Cutting Costs

The cost of financing a presidential campaign has undoubtedly been complicated by two facets of recent presidential campaigns. The extensive use of television which enables a candidate to be seen and heard throughout the nation has dramatically increased costs. In addition, the period of intensive campaigning, formerly concentrated in the autumn months, now stretches from mid-August up to Election Day. Each week of added campaign time raises costs by hundreds of thousands of dollars.

The Committee for Economic Development issued a study of the 1968 election which contained two recommendations for future elections. The CED first suggested that television costs could be reduced by having Congress provide federal subsidies to educational television stations so that these outlets could set aside blocs of time for free political broadcasting. Programs might be separate presentations by candidates, debates between them, round table discussions of issues by candidates or their representatives.

Tom Wicker, Associate Editor of the New York Times, commented in his syndicated column of January 2, 1969 that this proposal "would insure ample television exposure of all candidates, work to prevent a wealthy candidate from overwhelming a poorer opponent with paid-for time, put more emphasis on the exposition

of issues and personalities than on tricky appeals of the 30-second spot variety, and impose some kind of a limit on the rising spiral of television campaign costs ($20 million in 1962, $32 million in 1966, both non-presidential years).

"Since educational TV stations already receive some public funds and since Congress already legislates in the field of broadcasting, these proposals seem both legal and appropriate, and since television costs are an identifiable item about which it ought to be possible to enforce equitable regulations, this approach might more nearly hold down the cost of political campaigning than any other.

"It provides a way for federal funds to be injected into the political field that would be much less open to partisanship and much more manageable than would the more sweeping forms of 'federal financing.' "

The CED's second proposal was for a national presidential primary and a shorter election campaign period. Opponents of the presidential primary point out that such a move would decrease the decision making power of the convention and interfere with its functions of factional conciliation, platform making, ticket balancing and coalition building. Few people, however, oppose the shortening of the campaign period to the nine weeks from Labor Day to Election Day.

Without greater attention to the problem of how political parties can raise funds to pay the spiraling costs of national campaigns, it is probable that Senator Long will be proven right. No man in the future who is not wealthy in his own right will be able to accept a presidential nomination.

Student Assignment

1. As financial chairman of Senator Samuel B. Second's campaign, you must report to his high strategy board on the campaign funds. Select one of the four groups below as the most likely target for funds and write a letter soliciting money from the group you select.

   a. Officers of large corporations
   b. Presidents of national labor unions
   c. Chairmen of state party organizations
   d. Private citizens

2. As national party chairman, you must react to the finance chairman's proposal that the campaign period be shortened to nine weeks. Write a one paragraph statement telling why you agree or disagree with this proposal.

3. Make a picture chart showing the five methods political parties use to raise funds.

4. Think of a new fund raising idea that national parties might use to raise money and be prepared to present this idea to your classmates tomorrow. Be as creative as you can - the sky's the limit.

5. Interview one of your parents or another adult to find out if they would be willing to contribute $1 a year to the presidential candidate of their choice.

Class Session Four: **A Winning Way**

Ideas and Images

The long campaign provides a real test of the qualifications of a man for the presidency. Professor Mark Krug describes the campaign process in these words:

> In the jet age, candidates are now expected to visit almost all of the fifty states and give thousands of speeches. On the campaign trips the nominee is accompanied by large numbers of newspaper and television reporters who daily inform the nation about what the candidate said, whether he was losing his voice, and what the reactions of the street crowds and his audience were. No man is scrutinized and analyzed more thoroughly and no man enjoys less privacy than a nominee for the presidency. Americans insist on knowing all that can be learned about their future chief executive. In a sense this is a testimony to the vitality and the resilience of the American system. However exalted and guarded the occupant of the White House is, as a presidential candidate, he must mingle on the most familiar terms with the people who elect him. He shakes hands with farmers in New England, with Negro laborers in Harlem, with well dressed ladies in Grosse Point, with recent immigrants from Poland and with the orthodox Jews in Brooklyn. He must wave and respond with a smile (genuine on most occasions) to people yelling, "Give 'em hell, Harry," or "We like Ike," or simply, "Hello, Lyndon." There is nothing disrespectful in this familiarity. This is merely a way in which Americans tell their leaders where their real power lies. [1]

As the presidential candidate crosses the country, people are first interested in his political ideas, his pronouncements on the major problems facing the country.

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[1] History and the Social Sciences--New Approaches to Teaching of the Social Sciences by Mark M. Krug, Blaisdell, 1967.

A candidate's ideas are a major ingredient in any campaign and these ideas must be articulated and explained over and over again to different groups of voters. Although the basic ideas expressed by a candidate are always his own, no presidential campaigner today can operate without the assistance of professional speechwriters. The pace of the campaign is such that his time must be devoted to face-to-face contacts with voters rather than to writing speeches.

Voters today accept the idea that a candidate is not required to write his own speeches. Different candidates have operated differently with their speechwriters. Dwight Eisenhower usually accepted a speech as written for him and seldom made changes in it. John F. Kennedy most often requested speeches on a topic from three or four writers; he then rewrote and edited what they gave him until it reflected his own style and phrasing. In general, a speechwriter's responsibility is to discuss the ideas for the speech with the candidate, reflect his ideas clearly and in organized fashion, submit catchwords and graceful phrases for his consideration, and rewrite according to the candidate's wishes.

Some political writers have been critical of the practice of turning over the task of speech writing to outside specialists. Walter Lippman in 1942 wrote in a column entitled "Something Off My Chest":

> A public man can and needs to be supplied with material and advice and criticism in preparing an important address. But no one can write an authentic speech for another man; it is as impossible as writing his love letters for him or saying his prayers for him. When he speaks to the people, he and not someone else should speak. For it is much more important that he be genuine, and it is infinitely more persuasive, than that he be bright, clever, ingenious, entertaining, eloquent, or even grammatical. It is, moreover, a delusion fostered into an inferiority complex among executives by professional writers, that in an age of specialists some are called to act and some are called to find the right words for men of action to use. The truth is that anyone who knows what he is doing can say what he is doing, and someone who knows what he thinks can say what he thinks. Those who cannot speak for themselves are, with very rare exceptions,

not very sure of what they are doing and of what they mean. The sooner they are found out the better.[1]

Despite the concerns of a man of Walter Lippman's stature, the speechwriter is here to stay. Television demands that the candidate give a polished performance. Countless appearances at local and state rallies demand that he always be prepared to speak eloquently and with conviction. The candidate's ability to meet these demands requires not only his own ideas but the steady assistance of those who specialize in the communication arts.

While the ideas that a candidate expresses are of primary importance in the campaign, people also give careful attention to the image he presents. A well-known political writer has suggested that voters tend to identify presidential candidates with members of their family. They may see in the candidate the suggestion of a father, a trusted older brother, or a ne'er-do-well uncle. These identifications, so the writer states, may explain the personal popularity of some of our country's greatest vote-getters. Accordingly, Dwight D. Eisenhower was a father figure, an older man who could be trusted to take care of the country. Adlai Stevenson was, by contrast, a distant cousin who didn't come across too well at a family gathering. John F. Kennedy was the brilliant brother whose success everyone admired.

Whatever the truth of this analysis, there is no doubt that the personal image a candidate presents to the voters may have great influence upon their decision. In recent years a Greek word, charisma, has been widely used to describe the political appeal that sways voters. Charisma is supposedly a "combination of attractiveness, charm and sincerity that turns a candidate into The Candidate."[2] It is the quality sometimes called "it" by movie producers.

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[1] Quoted in The New Language of Politics by William Safire, page 414.

[2] The New Language of Politics by William Safire, page 71.

A candidate with charisma can develop a national following that gives its allegiance to the man rather than to the party. Charisma can also help a candidate develop a strong following within his own party. This dramatic quality cannot be learned or acquired; the candidate must be born with it. Both Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt had it, as did Dwight D. Eisenhower. John F. Kennedy exuded charisma. Editorial and political writers, in the 1968 campaign, complained that both Richard Nixon and Hubert Humphrey lacked charisma. Some went so far as to suggest that the only candidate in the race who possessed this quality was George Wallace.

Thomas Hoving, Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and a former member of the Lindsey administration in New York City, states of charisma:

> Power is the chief element, power and style. Style is choice -- when to talk, when to shut up, when to move, when to be still, a kind of appeal (not good looks) that comes with conviction. Style must be accompanied by power to become charisma, but power without style is not charismatic.[1]

All is not lost if a candidate does not have charisma, for good public relations work can help to create a favorable image for him. Although convincing the electorate that a candidate has the ways of a winner is the responsibility of the head of the press and public relations division, it is customary practice to hire an outside agency to develop ideas for the candidate's image. This idea of image comes directly from the advertising world. Of course, politicians in all periods have tried to create a favorable impression on voters. Turning this desire into a more aggressive drive to sell the personality of the candidate is a feature of the "Advertising Age."

The first decision a candidate's public relations advisers must make is to determine which of the various attributes of the man should be promoted. Political figures with such widely different images as those of Everett Dirksen and Eugene

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[1] Quoted in The New Language of Politics by William Safire, page 72.

McCarthy have been successful in attracting wide support. In general, voters today favor these qualities in a candidate: sincerity, vigor and good looks. Of course, a candidate must first possess these qualities in good measure for an effective image to be built. The public relations adviser cannot give to the candidate what he does not already legitimately have.

A candidate's image is created and projected in many ways. News magazines and newspapers are inundated with staff stories on the candidate's personal qualities. Women's magazines are presented with folksy features on his childhood and family life. Official campaign biographies are written by authors who can be trusted to picture his actions in a favorable light. The candidate is portrayed as a forthright political spokesman, a courageous leader, a loyal American, a loving husband and a devoted father.

Often the candidate's image is expressed in a catchy slogan that can be printed on buttons, pennants, and campaign posters. Good slogans have rhyme, rhythm or alliteration. Even with these qualities, some slogans succeed while others fail. "I like Ike" was a memorable slogan that everyone remembers, but no one took the slogan "Madly for Adlai" very seriously. "LBJ -- All the Way" was another winner as was "Nixon's the One." An effective slogan carried Eugene McCarthy from the snows of New Hampshire to the streets of Chicago: "He stood up alone." Of course, campaign slogans also state ideas about the campaign as well as ideas about the candidate. John F. Kennedy's phrase -- "Let's get this country moving again" -- carried him to the White House.

Along with the candidate's image and a catchy slogan for his campaign, the press and public relations division also develops the other paraphenalia for the campaign. No campaign is complete without billboards, buttons, badges, balloons, bumper stickers, pennants, pencils and party emblems. Ideally, the public relations chief would like to cover every free space in the country with some reminder of the candidate and the campaign. The Women's Division of the party also gets involved in creating and selling items of interest to lady voters. In the 1968 election, women could buy Nixon and Humphrey scarves and dresses, gold earrings in the shape of either the elephant or the donkey, charm bracelets and pins.

Once his ideas have been organized and his image has been developed, the candidate is ready to face the nation. No matter how secure or well prepared he is, the experiences of the campaign are both humbling and enlarging ones for him. The crowds of people who flock to see him are quick to respond either negatively or positively to the candidate's views and to him as a person. He senses the feelings of the people and the mood of the country; these reactions temper and change his campaign. He must become increasingly responsive to the people and attuned to their needs.

David Halberstam, a noted reporter for the New York Times, describes the effect of these experiences upon candidates for office:

> For though American elective politics can be a terrible and imperfect thing... it is, at the same time, a great humanizing factor, particularly for those men who have advantages and resources. They sometimes manage to ...absorb a feeling for the country, a certain respect and almost an affection for its frailties and foibles. A man who puts himself in the position where the electorate can approve or disapprove of him is changed for the better. Those who knew Jack Kennedy well felt he was a different man after the West Virginia primary; similarly, Robert Kennedy was a vastly changed man as he moved from running a campaign to being a candidate.[1]

The last service that the press and public relations division must perform for the candidate is to make voters aware of the times and places that he will appear in their area. The public usually turns out in great numbers to see and hear a candidate but they must know that he will be nearby. Advance men are sent into an area before his appearance to work with local people on setting up the schedule for the visit. They map the motorcade route, select the rally sites, advertise the visit,

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[1] "McGeorge Bundy" by David Halberstam, Harper's Magazine, July, 1969, pg. 26.

distribute press kits and banners and arrange for the signs that appear along the route. Good advance work can make a great contribution to the running of an effective campaign. Advance men today combine the talents of the showman and the salesman, bringing together the candidate and the crowd. Their predecessors are no doubt the circus agents who preceded the big show into town and stirred up interest in its arrival with free tickets and the promise of a parade. The skill of present day campaign organizers puts P.T. Barnum's boys to shame.

The Power of the Press

The head of the press and public relations division would have an easy job if his only responsibility were to create an image for the candidate. His role goes beyond this into the hour-by-hour handling of all newspaper and television coverage of the campaign. He must deal with the working reporters who travel with the candidate and cover the campaign.

Reporters must be kept happy. This requires efficient service from the candidate's press aides. Copies of major speeches are duplicated and distributed before the speech is given so reporters can prepare stories to meet newspaper deadlines. Press releases on the candidate are written daily - his views, his activities, his speeches, his supporters. Time for press conferences and in-depth interviews is scheduled. Local, state and national media are bombarded with information about the candidate.

The attitude of the candidate toward the press has a great affect upon the way they report his activities. Theodore H. White writes of Nixon's hositility toward the press in the 1960 campaign for the presidency:

"The decision that the press was a conspiracy had been taken long before Mr. Nixon was actually nominated. One of his aides declared to me in June in flat words, "They're all against Dick anyway. Make them work - we aren't going to hand out prepared remarks: let them get their pencils out and listen and take notes.' This philosophy was expressed, not only to me, but to any number of members of the brotherhood. It was implemented early in the campaign by a punishment policy of

withholding transcripts of the Vice-President's speeches from the press that followed him; only late in the campaign when Kennedy's instant-transcript policy had shown its effectiveness, did the Nixon staff offer similar complete help to the harassed reporters.

"Nor was the hostility between press and the Nixon campaign simply a fruit of this trivial disdain. Predominantly Democratic in orientation, the reporters who followed Nixon were, nonetheless, for the sake of their own careers, anxious to write as well, as vividly, as substantively as possible about him. Yet he held himself aloof; erratically, he would sometimes permit reporters to ride his personal plane and at other times forbid it (Kennedy would as soon have dismissed his co-pilot as have dismissed the rotating trio of pool reporters who rode his personal plane everywhere); what he thought, what he planned, what he wished to express, Nixon kept to himself, believing (until too late in the campaign) that he could reach the American people over the heads of the press via television, or conscript press support from the publishers, who are proprietors of the press. (Mr. Nixon did, indeed, win the editorial support of 78 percent of all newspapers whose publishers endorsed a candidate in 1960, along with the editorial support of all mass circulation magazines whose publishers chose sides.) What Mr. Nixon really felt, what he wished truly to clarify, he made no effort to communicate to the reporters, who were his amplifiers."[1]

By comparison, the Kennedy forces welcomed the press. White says:

"To be transferred from the Nixon campaign tour to the Kennedy tour meant no lightening of exertion or weariness for any newspapermen - but it was as if one were transformed in role from leper and outcast to friend and battle companion.

"The difference in attitudes to the press corps that one found on the Kennedy side reflected the attitude of its principal, too. For Kennedy, who enjoys words and

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[1] The Making of the President by Theodore H. White, pages 377-378

reading, is a Pulitzer Prize winner himself and a one-time reporter; he has an enormous respect for those who work with words and those who write clean prose. He likes newspaper men and likes their company. Kennedy would, even in the course of the campaign, read the press dispatches, and if he particularly liked a passage, would tell the reporter or columnist that he had - and then quote from its phrases, in an amazing performance of memory and attention.....

"There is no doubt that this kindliness, respect and cultivation of the press colored all the reporting that came from the Kennedy campaign, and the contrast colored adversely the reporting of the Nixon campaign. By the last weeks of the campaign, those forty or fifty national correspondents who had followed Kennedy since the beginning of his electoral exertions into the November days had become more than a press corps - they had become his friends and, some of them, his most devoted admirers. When the bus or the plane rolled or flew through the night, they sang songs of their own composition about Mr. Nixon and the Republicans in chorus with the Kennedy staff and felt that they, too, were marching like soldiers of the Lord to the New Frontier."[1]

As the campaign wears on, the head of the press and public relations division must worry about something just as important as the tenor of the candidate's relationships with the working press; he must worry about the attitude of the publishers and editors of newspapers which the reporters represent. Reporters write stories and these may influence some voters but publishers and editors give endorsements and these influence many voters. What will the editorial page say about the candidate? Will the newspaper chiefs endorse him or opt for his opponent? The battle for newspaper support begins.

The large newspapers in this country are traditionally more favorable to

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[1] The Making of the President 1960 by Theodore H. White, pages 378-380

Republican than to Democratic candidates. Certain newspaper endorsements can be predicted with accuracy even before the national conventions have been held. No one doubts, for example, that the Chicago Tribune will strongly support the G.O.P. contender. There are, however, certain relatively independent papers whose endorsements are eagerly sought. Politicians believe that a nod from one of these has great influence upon "swing" voters, those who vote more for the man than for the party and who split their votes accordingly. An endorsement from the Chicago Daily News or the New York Times brings smiles all around to a candidate's staff. These endorsements mean votes.

Winners of the Past

No topic is more fascinating than the study of the campaign techniques of past contenders of the presidency. Before "image building" became a calculated part of a candidate's race, other methods of creating voter interest were employed. Campaign buttons, slogans and songs were the tools of the politician's trade in the campaigns of yesteryear. Election hobbyists collect buttons and pennants while collections of campaign songs have been recorded for election buffs to hear.

Certain songs are now closely associated with individual candidates. Among the most famous songs of the twentieth century are Al Smith's theme song, "The Sidewalks of New York," Franklin Roosevelt's "Happy Day Are Here Again," and the song Irving Berlin wrote about Dwight Eisenhower, "I Like Ike." A song that was closely tied to Harry S. Truman in the voters' minds, "The Missouri Waltz," turned out to be one that the candidate himself hated; but the voters loved it and bands all over the country played it when Truman appeared. The rousing tune of "Hello Dolly" became "Hello Lyndon" in the 1964 campaign by permission of David Merrick, the producer of the play and owner of the copyright. When Goldwater supporters tried "Hello Barry," Merrick, a Democrat, threatened to sue. Merrick also contributed the song "Let A Winner Lead the Way" to Hubert Humphrey's campaign.

Even more interesting than the campaign songs are the campaign slogans that thrilled, stirred and swayed voters of the past. William Safire in The New

Language of Politics notes that campaign slogans can be classified as to type:

"There are slogans that are essentially promissory: Reconstruction's Forty Acres and a Cow (which dwindled to the Populist's Three Acres and a Mule); The Full Dinner Pail; Every Man A King; $2 a Day and Roast Beef; I shall Go to Korea; He Can Do more for Massachusetts; Peace and Prosperity.

"Other slogans are primarily warnings: Don't Let Them Take It Away; Coolidge or Chaos; Hoover and Happiness or Smith and Soup Houses; You Never Had it So Good; Save the American Way of Life; No Third Term; Let's Keep What We've Got; Your Home is Your Castle - Protect It.

"A call for change has been quite effective: Had Enough?; Turn the Rascals out; Time for a Change; Let's Get America Moving Again. Overtly rational slogans have failed: Let's Look at the Record; Let's Talk Sense to the American People; Experience Counts; as has one overtly anti-rational: In Your Heart You Know He's Right. Challenging is a good slogan technique: Fifty-Four Forty or Fight; Freedom Now.

"Appeals to gratitude seem weak, but have worked; Keep Him on the Job; He Kept Us Out of War; and there has been a time for evocative slogans: A Country Fit for Heroes; General Taylor Never Surrenders; Vote as You Shot.

"Alliterative slogans abound: Ban the Bomb; Beat the Bosses; Love That Lyndon; Tippecanoe and Tyler, Too; Wilson's Wisdom Wins Without War; Win With Willkie. So do rhyming slogans: I Like Ike; Jim Crow Must Go; All the Way with LBJ; In Hoover We Trusted, Now We Are Busted. There are occasional symbolic slogans: Log Cabin and Hard Cider; I Am As Strong As A Bull Moose. and punning slogans: Keep Cool With Coolidge; Land A Job With Landon. Franklin Pierce won despite this slogan - We Polked You in 1844, We Shall Pierce You in 1852."[1]

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[1] The New Language of Politics by William Safire, page 403

Campaigns today are big business. Such business and advertising techniques as a well-designed image, a set of polished speeches and a well organized personal appearance schedule are more important now than the songs, buttons and slogans that were of such interest in earlier campaigns. Yet even today the chairman of the press and public relations division devotes some part of his time and energy to the development of campaign kits which include buttons and badges as well as slick broadsides about the candidate. As for campaign slogans, no campaign is complete without one.

Student Assignment

Senator Samuel B. Second is unhappy with the campaign materials being distributed by his headquarters. He feels his campaign needs something more dramatic than the slogan "Be First with Second." His running mate Edward Martin agrees that this slogan lacks appeal.

You have been asked, as chairman of the press and public relations division, to think of a new image for the Second-Martin campaign. Design a campaign packet that includes a campaign slogan, a campaign button and an auto bumper sticker. Be prepared to sell your idea for this campaign packet in class tomorrow.

Class Session Five: **Ballots and Blocs**

Of Thee I Sing

In the mid-nineteen-thirties two comedy artists, George Kaufman and Moss Hart, wrote a musical satire of American political life. Based roughly on the career of Franklin D. Roosevelt and entitled "Of Thee I Sing," the musical featured the exploits of political candidate Alexander Wintergreen. A high point of the show occurred when, as Wintergreen danced gaily from group to group, the chorus hailed his popularity in these words:

> Wintergreen for President;
> He's the man the people choose,
> Loves the Irish and the Jews -
> Wintergreen for President!

Kauffman and Hart were poking fun at an aspect of political life that every politician knows is deadly serious - the importance of appeals to the ethnic, religious and racial backgrounds of blocs of voters. Ethnic ties have long been recognized as a factor that heavily influence voting patterns. This has been particularly true in large cities where many ethnic groups still live in semi-isolated enclaves and where big city leaders pay allegiance to this by placing on the party ticket men of differing origins.

A study of the last names of those on the slate in most city, county or state elections is a study of the groups that are concentrated in that area. When Fiorello LaGuardia, of Italian background, ran for mayor of New York in 1933, for example, he had as his running mates for the other top positions in the city an Irishman, a Jew and a white Anglo-Saxon Protestant. Candidates for the five borough presidencies, offices filled at the same election, were an Irish-born politician, an Italian Catholic businessman, two old stock Americans, and the Irish-stock president of New York's Inter-Faith Council.

In a pluralistic society, where bloc voting is a way of life, smart politics demands that attention be paid to ethnic considerations. At the national level, this type of ticket-balancing is of lesser importance. The more old stock American

a man is - at least until recent years - the greater his chance of success. It is well known that as late as 1928 the Democratic candidate, Al Smith of New York, lost votes because many normally Democratic voters refused to cast their ballots for a Catholic. The election of John F. Kennedy in 1960 seems to have removed Catholicism as a barrier to national election. No candidate, however, of the Jewish faith and no Negro has as yet received the presidential or vice-presidential nomination of a major party.

Although Americans lean toward men of Anglo-Saxon stock as presidential candidates, they expect their leaders to show proper deference for the interests of ethnic groups. Both the Democratic and Republican National Committees have Minority Divisions specifically charged with the responsibility of involving representatives of ethnic groups in the over-all campaign. Candidates must also stand right on certain issues: for the liberation of countries behind the Iron Curtain, for the re-unification of Germany, for the preservation of Israel and for a free China.

A candidate must not only stand right on issues, but he must enthusiastically participate in certain actions that indicate his respect for the culture and traditions of major ethnic groups. He must have his picture taken as he eats such delicacies as pizza, knishes, sauerkraut and pierogi; as he accepts the gift of an Irish shillelagh, an Indian warbonnet or a Mexican sombrero.

If ethnic and religious considerations are still of major importance, racial ones are even more vital in today's campaign strategy. Candidates must meet with black leaders of stature, must include black politicians in their campaign entourage and must speak out on issues that affect black voters. Here, a gesture can have significant political results as witnessed by an episode in John F. Kennedy's 1960 campaign.

On October 19, Martin Luther King, Jr. was arrested with fifty-three other Negro leaders for refusing to leave a restaurant table during a sit-in in Atlanta Georgia. Robert Kennedy, acting in the name of his brother, telephoned a plea for King's release from jail. The entire episode received little attention in the national press but it spread quickly through the Negro community. The father of Martin

Luther King, Jr., a Baptist minister who had come out a few weeks earlier for Nixon on religious grounds, now switched. "I've got a suitcase of votes," he said, "and I'm going to take them to Mr. Kennedy and dump them in his lap."

A real problem for political strategists today is the conflict of interest that has developed between the older ethnic groups and the newer more militant Negro organizations. George Wallace in 1968 gained much of his support from lower-income voters, many of whom had strong ethnic ties, and felt their neighborhoods were being threatened by open-occupancy laws. Just as the big city politician must balance the ticket, candidates today must balance their appeals among a large number of special interest groups.

Elections and Ethnicity

Theodore H. White in The Making of the President 1960 presents an excellent overview of the role ethnic groups play in American politics. Your teacher will ask you to read pages 255-278 of White's book or will read these pages to you. As you read (or listen), try to find out the answers to these questions:

1. Why is a "balanced ticket" so important in political slatemaking?

2. How does a politician's map of America differ from a geographical map?

3. Why were Irish immigrants peculiarly successful in gaining political control at the local level?

4. Why was the influence of the Negro voter a minor one in southern states?

5. Why do Negroes, with only 12% of the population, have the power to swing half the electoral votes necessary to elect a candidate?

6. What facts of urban life have made Negro-white relationships a particular problem for politicians?

7. Why did Catholic voters drift away from the Democratic party in the 1950's?

8. How did John Kennedy use the study of the percentage of Catholic voters

in different states as a wedge in obtaining the nomination?

9. Why were Democratic strategists so fearful of the affect of the religious issue in 1960?

10. Theodore H. White says: "A national ticket for the Presidency is not chosen by this squalid method of racial and ethnic balancing." Why do you think White believes ticket-balancing is "squalid"? What arguments can you give to counter this viewpoint?

Student Assignment

1. Make a chart showing the ethnic and religious backgrounds of the candidates of the two major parties from 1860 to 1968.

2. Write a short research report on the Hoover-Smith election of 1928. Detail the relationship between religion and the outcome of that campaign.

3. Select one of these two passages from White's book to read and report on:

   a. Pages 114-135: the religious question in the West Virginia primary.

   b. Pages 295-298: the meeting with the ministers of Dallas, Texas.

4. Organized appeals against ethnic or religious groups have occurred at various times in American life. Select one of these two organizations as the topic for a short report:

   a. Know Nothing Party

   b. Ku Klux Klan

5. Obtain a copy of the ballot for the last state or county election in your area. Analyze the ballot with respect to its appeal to ethnic groups.

Class Session Six: **Messages and Media**

The New Politics

The campaign strategies described thus far - well-devised strategy, well-coordinated organization, well-planned fund raising, well-phrased speeches and press releases, well-designed appeals to special interest groups - have been features of election politics for many years. They are vital elements of a successful campaign but they are no longer in and of themselves sufficient.

Politics is a changing game. The old style "give-em-hell" campaigner has been replaced by the articulate, confident charismatic leader. The old big-city organizations, drawing strength from ethnic blocs, are no longer very effective. The scientific and engineering advances which have so influenced the masses in today's consumer economy are now being applied to politics. The management of political campaigns has become a scientific exercise in manipulation of public opinion through use of techniques derived from our expanding technology.

James M. Perry in The New Politics characterizes this development in these words:

"There are two essential ingredients of the new politics. One is that appeals should be made directly to the voters through the mass media. The other that the techniques used to make these appeals - polling, computers, television, direct mail - should be sophisticated and scientific."[1]

More and more candidates are relying upon the service of professional political managers, of public opinion experts and of advertising and television advisors. Each of these groups has contributed significantly to recent presidential campaigns.

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[1] The New Politics by James M. Perry, page 7.

The Business of Politics

The first modern political-management firm was founded over thirty years ago in California by Clem Whitaker and his wife, Leone Baxter. There is nothing new about political managers as such but the Whitaker-Baxter firm differed from old-style political managers in one significant way. Whitaker and Baxter was a company and its business was to manage political campaigns for corporate profit.

Clem Whitaker and Leone Baxter first joined forces in 1933. Hired to ensure passage of the Central Valley Project Act, the team blanketed the state with appeals and information about this issue. Although passage of the act was being vigorously opposed by powerful gas and electric interests in the state, the referendum was approved by a comfortable margin.

With this success behind them, the team organized as Campaigns, Inc. From 1933 through 1955, Whitaker and Baxter managed seventy-five political campaigns in California and won seventy of them. Their basic strategy was to take their client's message directly to the voters through the use of mass media in a highly organized way. They insisted that the campaign be streamlined to concentrate on a few major issues, and that these issues be dramatically publicized in pamphlets and leaflets mailed directly to voters and in newspaper and television advertising. With no political organization, no party discipline, no wide-spread party identification to assist them, Whitaker and Baxter relied upon their ability to sway the individual voter. And they were more than successful in doing this.

Other political management firms have been formed in recent years. Spencer-Roberts, Inc. first gained national attention when they master-minded Nelson Rockefeller's presidential primary bid in California in 1964. Their greatest single achievement to date has been the successful 1966 gubernatorial campaign of movie star Ronald Reagan. The success of this campaign, as well as that of others managed by professional firms, has encouraged the multiplication of companies founded for this purpose. Among the major political management firms operating today are U.I.R.& D. (headed by two old Kennedy hands, William Haddad and Robert Clampett); Joseph Napolitan Associates; and Campaign Consultants, Inc. The first two firms

work for Democrats while CCI works only for Republicans.

Many political analysts deplore the entry of these professional firms into the arena of politics. One critic wrote: "The sad fact is that their manufacture of slogans and wielding of labels has led to a grievous debasement of political debate... Their peculiar contribution has been to make a precise art of over-simplification, to septematize emotional appeals, to merchandise the images they create through a relentless exploitation of every means of mass communication. Compared to these virtuosos, the old-time politician seems like an amateur."[1]

Whatever the critics may say, the very success of firms like Whitaker-Baxter guarantees their use in political campaigns.

Politicians and Pollsters

Another phenomenon of recent political campaigns is the use of private and public polls to determine the opinions of the voters. National polls on election issues are featured in newspapers and magazines in the months before the election; they are studied carefully by voters and politicians.

On the eve of the Republican convention, newpaper readers were bewildered by a peculiar succession of events involving two national public opinion research organizations. Newspaper headlines first read: "Gallup Poll Says Nixon Winner." The news story below told of a poll taken a week earlier by the Gallup organization which which indicated that Richard M. Nixon could defeat any of the possible Democratic contenders. Two days later another organization - the Harris Poll - stated that a later survey showed that Nixon would lose to the top-running Democrats and that Nelson Rockefeller was the only candidate who could beat any Democrat.

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[1] Quoted in The New Politics by James M. Perry, page 11

If citizens were bewildered by this battle of the polls, Republican strategists were infuriated. Their fury grew when, a day or so later, representatives of the Gallup and Harris organizations met and issued a joint statement that the Harris Poll was correct: Rockefeller was the strongest Republican. News headlines again featured this information. The careful reader found, buried in the middle of the statement, the information that, with the 2% margin for error expected in any poll, neither organization could say with certainty which man was more attractive to the voters. In any case, neither poll nor statement had much affect on the convention. Richard Nixon, though he lost the battle of the polls, won the battle for delegate support.

Ever since man first hit on a pterodactyl race, experts have tried to find ways to foretell the probable outcome of a contest. In earlier political days, politicians paid keen attention to certain signs - the size of crowds at rallies, the enthusiasm of supporters, the reports of ward captains on their daily conversations with voters. Informal polls were taken as long ago as 1848. A publication about Zachary Taylor reported in that year: "A vote was taken on the Steamer Fairmont on her trip to Pittsburgh. - This is the vote: Taylor 75, Cass 37, Van Buren 4."

Reliance on public opinion polls as an integral part of election strategy is, however, a twentieth century phenomenon. Before the names of candidates are ever presented at a convention, national public opinion polls begin to survey their appeal to voters. A typical question on one of these early polls is: "Supposing the election were being held today; of the following candidates, which one would you vote for?" These polls are called trial heats when the choice given is among candidates of opposing parties and preferential polls when among candidates of a single party.

This type of poll, while quite interesting to the public, is least useful to the professional politician. It indicates only where the voters surveyed stand on a certain day; it does not tell in what direction public opinion is likely to go or what issues are growing in importance. The results of such a poll may be used by a contender's opponents to persuade delegates that he "can't win" and thus lead them to switch to another man who runs better in the polls.

Once nominations have been made, polling begins in earnest. From a public viewpoint, the polls that are of the most interest are the nationwide ones conducted by such large research organizations as those headed by Gallup and Harris. These polls are based on the statistical technique of sampling and most use a carefully designed representative sample. The research organizations construct a panel of voters based on age, voting record, location, socio-economic background, ethnic group and so on. This panel is a cross-section of the actual voting population and it is assumed that the voters in the sample will vote as those in the larger population do. The panel's responses to questions about election issues and candidates are the data from which the pollsters draw their conclusions about national trends. Obviously, the accuracy of such a poll is directly related to the accuracy of the sample.

Newspapers and magazines also conduct polls during an election but these are based on another approach to sampling. Such polls can reflect the attitudes of the population of a particular area if a sufficiently large group of people is polled and if the poll sticks to a random sample of, say, every hundredth person in the telephone book and not merely those voters who pass by the newspaper office on a certain day.

William Safire in The New Language of Politics describes the way one of these newspaper polls is carried on:

"Best known of these wide-scale straw polls is the one conducted at election time in New York City by the Daily News, which has called elections correctly on all but two occasions in almost forty years. When the News poll technicians select a name out of phone books or voter registration lists, an interviewer is sent to that apartment; if the resident is not home, he keeps returning, because going next door for a substitute would throw the random sample out of kilter. If he is unable to get his target straw, the interviewer gets another name from the statistician."[1]

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[1] The New Language of Politics by William Safire, page 432

One other pre-election predictor should also be mentioned here. Both politicians and pollsters keep a sharp ear tuned to feedback from certain stated counties and districts. Known as bellwether counties or key counties, these are areas with a reputation for voting in each previous election as the nation voted. Reporters sweep into these counties and news stories on voter trends there are carried throughout the nation.

Any poll, whether based on a representative or a random sample of voters, suffers from three possible forms of error. First, no one is certain that the candidate chosen in a poll is the one for whom the individual will vote on election day. No decision is final until the voter enters the privacy of the voting booth. Second, polls cannot predict with accuracy what those voters who declare themselves to be "undecided" in the poll will do. Where the poll shows a large percentage of uncertain voters, the results it projects are tentative at best. Third, since the statistical techniques on which polls are based allow for a margin of error (usually at least two per cent), the polls cannot predict the results of a really close election. The "toss-ups" are decided only on election day.

Voters always get a thrill from the embarrassment of pollsters and everyone loves an election where the pollsters are proven wrong. In 1936 the Literary Digest magazine sent out ten million ballots to subscribers and, on the basis of the returns, picked Alf Landon over Franklin D. Roosevelt. When Roosevelt won a landslide victory, carrying every state but Maine and Vermont, the magazine was subjected to such ridicule that it went out of business. George Gallup, who used a smaller representative sample for his data rather than a carelessly designed straw poll, picked Roosevelt as the winner. After the election returns were in, Gallup said: "The election validated the principle of the scientifically selected cross section over the mass balloting methods used by earlier polls and straw votes."[1]

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[1] Quoted in The New Language of Politics by William Safire, page 432

The scrappy incumbent president Harry S. Truman proved in 1948 that the polls could be wrong on a second occasion. Though all the national public opinion polls strongly indicated a large majority for his opponent, Truman took to the stump and presented his case directly to the voters. Newspapers reported that enormous crowds were turning out to see and hear him; pollsters dismissed these crowds as mere curiosity seekers. Encouraged by the polls, Thomas E. Dewey ran a low pressure campaign. The polls had already elected him president. Dewey awoke the next morning to find that the voters had given Harry Truman four more years in the White House.

Candidates for election fear the effect that their showing in the polls may have upon the campaign itself. A man running handily ahead in the polls may be tempted to let up and, like the hare in the famous race, be overtaken in the end. A man running hopelessly behind may become discouraged and his supporters disheartened. Then, too, no one knows whether reading the polls can cause a voter to alter his views about a candidate. Sometimes unfavorable polls stir up sympathy for the underdog. This probably happened in 1948 when Harry Truman, the certain loser, gained the admiration of many by his hard fight for election.

Public opinion polls may be important to a candidate but the new politics requires that a candidate not rely on public polls but hire his own research firm to survey voter opinion. Private polls give the candidate feedback on the effectiveness of his campaign strategy with specific voters and in specific areas. The results of the polls may cause a candidate to reshape his image, to sharpen his attack on the opposition or to press points he had previously underplayed. Scientific polling is an important part of political campaigning today.

Walter D. DeVries, director of research for George Romney in his successful gubernatorial campaigns in Michigan, believes that no candidate can succeed without in-depth polling on issues. DeVries states:

"The public opinion poll is a tool to measure what is important in the sense that it gives the political leader, whether he is an incumbent or a candidate, a sense of direction in trying to provide leadership in solving problems.....We now have

technology which allows us to sample public opinion scientifically to help a political leader. Polls tell the candidate what are relevant issue structures, his standing with the public (the distance to the goal); and polls suggest the campaign pledges and requirements needed to develop candidate image. Polls are at least as relevant as any 'intuitive' assessment of campaign strategy - probably more so than most. And the most effective polls are in-depth image and issues polls taken over a period of time to develop a trend line and to allow campaign strategy shifts as indicated."[1]

In the future, candidate reliance on public opinion research will undoubtedly grow. Polls of voter views can certainly help a candidate respond effectively on key issues. One question remains: what will happen when a candidate finds on an issue of principle that a majority of the voters favor a different stand? This conflict between public opinion and principle can become a real stumbling block for future candidates.

The Big Tube

It was in 1928 that coast-to-coast radio facilities were first used extensively in a campaign. Both "Happy Warrior" Al Smith and his more sober Republican opponent Herbert Hoover took to the airways. While there were many reasons for Smith's defeat, some attributed it to his pronounced New York accent which radio magnified.

Four years later the man who used radio to greatest advantage emerged to defeat Hoover in his bid for re-election. Franklin Roosevelt's magnetic radio voice as he pledged "a new deal for the American people" was too much for the opposition. During the years of his presidency, FDR continued to make radio his personal media. Millions today still remember his famous Fireside Chats and the phrase with which they began - "My fellow Americans."

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[1] Quoted in The New Politics by James M. Perry, pages 78-79

By 1952 voters had forsaken the radio for a new electronic marvel - television. Now candidates were seen as well as heard. Just as some old-time silent movie idols could not make the transition to "talkies," some politicians were unable to adjust to the new demands of television. Both Adlai Stevenson and Dwight Eisenhower used television widely in the 1952 campaign. Unfortunately the television lights glared down on Stevenson's balding forehead, giving him a somewhat sinister look. His witty and erudite style of delivery did not project the image of sincerity that voters wanted in a candidate. Eisenhower, by contrast, became a master of the medium.

Dwight Eisenhower's political advisors at first despaired over his inept performance on television. A team of experts was called in to work with him on matters of style and delivery. Important statements in his speeches were underlined in red to guide the General in giving proper emphasis. With this help, Eisenhower became an increasingly polished performer.

Richard Nixon, Eisenhower's running mate, also made effective use of television in 1952. No sooner nominated than under attack, Nixon was accused of accepting money from a private "slush fund" set up by wealthy friends to pay his personal expenses. Nixon took to the television screen and delivered a famous speech in which he spoke of his poverty-stricken childhood, his devoted parents, his years of political service and his lovely wife who could afford only "a Republican cloth coat." The final appeal made reference to his little dog Checkers, a gift to his two daughters. This performance, known thereafter as the "Checkers speech," won back for Nixon the sympathy of the voters and the confidence of his party.

Those who admired Nixon's astute television performance in 1952 were amazed by his inept use of the media in the 1960 campaign. His opponent, John Kennedy, had an excellent television image; his television appearances were planned by the most skillful producers in the business. The contrast between the two men and their television image was most apparent in the first of their four television debates. Kennedy was obviously a cool performer, well prepared and confident. Nixon looked weary and ill at ease; the dark shadows under his eyes were intensified by the television camera. He did not look like a winner.

Television strategists are now coordinating their efforts with public opinion research men on the candidate's staff in order to use television in newer and more effective ways. The dull half hour political specials of earlier television days have given way to high-powered spot announcements which hit on key issues with frightening regularity. Half hour or hour programs, when scheduled, are planned for variety and mass appeal rather than being given over to a straight political speech.

Lyndon Johnson used spot announcements very effectively in his 1964 campaign against Barry Goldwater. Masterminded by Doyle Dane Bernbach of New York, the fastest growing major television agency in the country, the campaign was designed to go for the heart. Theodore H. White in The Making of the President 1964 discusses the strategy of these spot announcements:

"From Washington, via Moyers, came one clear directive: Attack, jolt Goldwater, put him on the defensive from the beginning. At least three of the group's efforts deserve to go down in history as masterpieces of political television. First was a one-minute film shown only once: the famous Daisy Girl spot (run off on NBC's Monday Night at the Movies on September 7th), which began with a close-up of a tow-haired moppet plucking petals from a daisy, babbling her count as she went, until the film faded through her eyes to a count-down of an atomic testing site and the entire scene dissolved in the mushroom cloud. The film mentioned neither Goldwater nor the Republicans specifically - but the shriek of Republican indignation fastened the bomb message on them more tightly than any calculation could have expected. The next, ten days later, was a portrait of a deliciously beautiful little girl innocently licking an ice-cream cone, with a gentle, motherly voice in the background explaining about Strontium-90 and pointing out that Barry Goldwater was against the Test Ban Treaty. This, as cruel a political film as has ever been shown, was also aired but once. And then, finally, there was the spot on Social Security, in which the fingers of two hands tore up a Social Security card. This, shown over and over again during the campaign, probably had greater penetration than any other paid political use of television except for Richard M. Nixon's Checkers broadcast in 1952.

"The DDB executives had a clear message to transmit, and they needed no great organization charts to translate the message into emotion. They scored through on the opposition candidate personally - and jolted him. Goldwater was so lacerated by the cutting edge of the two 'bomb' shows that they probably provoked him, as we shall see, to even greater exertion in defense of his frightening position. They scored through, with even greater effect, on the Republican Party generally, down to the county level. Over and over again, as Goldwater traveled, he would be brought up short by local Republican chieftains insisting that he must explain himself again to their people on the bomb issue and Social Security. Goldwater was running not only against Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic record, but against fear itself. He was responding to the thrust of the opposition, not attacking as a challenger must."[1]

Although the Democratic spot announcements in the 1964 campaign grossly oversimplified Barry Goldwater's views on major issues, they proved that the Democrats had learned the lesson of the 1960 campaign -- inspired television can influence voters. Both major parties in 1968 realized that television was a potent force that could carry the campaign into the home of almost every voter.

Richard Nixon worked hard to improve his 1960 television performance. In evaluating his problems in 1960, Nixon wrote in his book Six Crises: "I believe that I spent too much time in the last campaign on substance and too little time on appearance. I paid too much attention to what I was going to say and too little on how I would look. . . . one hard camera angle on television can have more effect on the election outcome than a major mistake in writing a speech which is picked up and criticized by columnists and editorial writers."[2]

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[1] The Making of the President 1964 by Theodore H. White, page 384.

[2] "Mr. Nixon's Effective Use of T.V." by Marquis Childs, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, February 6, 1969.

Nixon and his campaign managers in 1968 searched for a television format that would do justice to his ideas and convey a more favorable television image. They decided upon ten television programs in states from Massachusetts to California. Each program would feature Nixon with a panel of local people who would fire questions at him. He would answer these questions largely extemporaneously. A small studio audience of supporters would be on hand to provide back-up support and to react with applause at appropriate intervals. Nixon's on-the-spot answers to the questions of the panel of voters would, it was believed, show his great knowledge of the issues of the campaign and give him the opportunity to enunciate his political philosophy. Moreover, each show would be seen only by people who lived in that particular state or region so that the danger of over-exposure would be avoided.

These open-ended television programs plus a saturation battery of spot commercials worked for Richard Nixon in 1968. His handling of questions from the voters in different regions of the country evidenced a new maturity and a new willingness to face up to issues.

The Democrats too in 1968 gave careful attention to the question of television. Unfortunately, Hubert Humphrey's campaign was handicapped during its first weeks by a shortage of funds for television. Valuable television time was lost in these early stages because the party could not pay for its use. Later, when more money came in, it was not possible to give the kind of thought and planning about the use of this time that might have been desirable. Nevertheless, the aggressive campaign carried on by Humphrey coupled with more use of television in the last weeks of the campaign almost closed the gap between the two major party candidates.

Television is so dramatic a medium that some people have grown to fear its influence upon the electoral process. In 1963, the American Political Science Association appointed a commission to study this matter. The 1964 report of this commission stated:

"The development of new methods and new techniques for informing the electorate should be a matter of concern to all who are actively interested in political life and in the maintenance of a vital political system.....The choice of a presidential

candidate must not be limited to those who are masters of appearance on television. . . . A continuing evaluation is necessary if the potential of radio and television for informing the electorate is to be fully realized."[1]

The exponents of the new politics believe that candidates for office should make use of newly developed modern techniques in planning their campaigns. To this end, they urge candidates to accept assistance from political management firms, public opinion research experts and skilled television writers and producers. The services of such people can give professional polish to a campaign but expertise alone does not win elections. In the end, the man and the principles for which he stands have the greatest influence upon the voter. The public's uncanny ability to push aside the superficial glamor of a campaign and focus upon the character of the man is an important check on the work of professional campaign managers.

Student Assignment

Choose one of these projects to complete by class time tomorrow:

1. Write a short editorial giving your views on the topic -- Television: Master or Servant?

2. Interview one of your parents or another adult of your acquaintance to find out how they were influenced by reading newspaper polls or watching television programs about candidates in the last election. Try to find out what kind of political programs on television influenced them positively and what kind influenced them negatively.

3. Use the slogan selected in class yesterday to write a spot announcement for Senator Samuel B. Second's campaign.

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[1] Quoted in Choosing the President, League of Women Voters, pages 42-43.

4. Imagine yourself to be the head of a new political campaign management firm. Write a letter to Senator Second outlining the services your firm can perform for his campaign.

5. Make a two-part picture or chart contrasting the Old Politics with the New Politics.

As an extra credit assignment, you may wish to obtain one of these two books from your school or public library and write a report on it: The Image Candidates by Gene Wyckhoff or The New Politics by James M. Perry.

Class Session Seven: **Take Care of the Precinct**

For Want of the Nail

An old fable tells how a kingdom changed hands:
"For want of the nail, the shoe was lost.
For want of the shoe, the horse was lost.
For want of the horse, the rider was lost.
For want of the rider, the battle was lost.
For want of the battle, the war was lost.
For want of the war, the kingdom was lost."

This story illustrates the impact of one event on the outcome of a close contest. The disputed election of 1876 was just such a contest. Rutherford B. Hayes won the presidency by one electoral vote. That vote resulted from a one-vote margin in a special fifteen-man commission appointed by Congress to settle the question of electoral slates in two southern states. The man who cast the decisive vote for Hayes was a Congressman from Indiana who was himself elected to Congress by a margin of one vote. And that vote was supposedly cast by a sick man who insisted on being carried to the polls in order to cast his ballot.

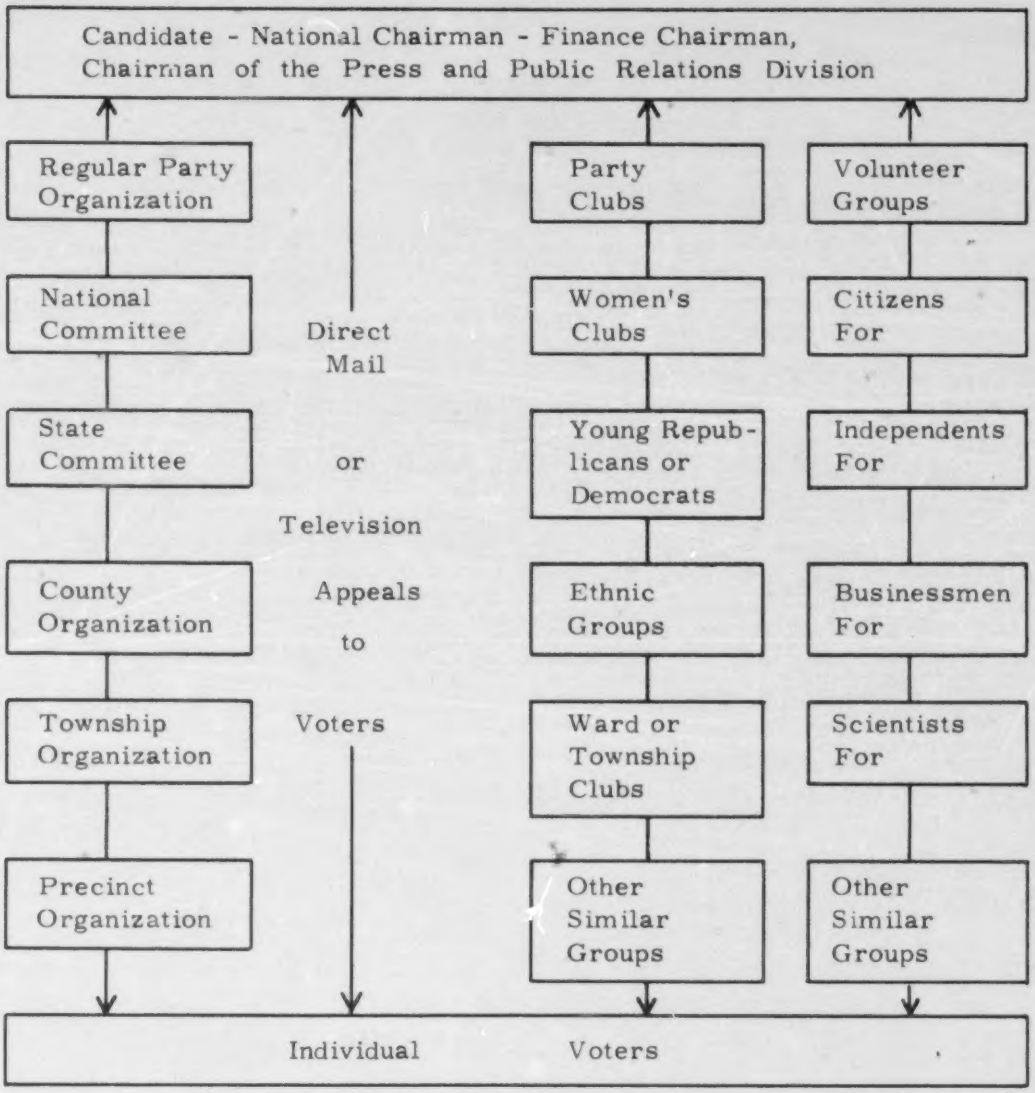
Several presidential contests in the past have turned on a small number of votes. Less than one vote per precinct in the state of California in 1916 lost the state and the presidency for Charles Evans Hughes in the upset that returned Woodrow Wilson to the White House. Again in 1948 California was lost to Thomas E. Dewey by approximately one vote per precinct. In the close election of 1960, a switch of somewhat over 10,000 votes would have placed Richard Nixon in office. And after the 1968 election, Hubert Humphrey claimed that a similar switch of approximately 20,000 votes would have made him president.

New politics aside, presidential candidates know that election can be won or lost at the precinct level. A good precinct organization is important if all available votes are to end up in the candidate's column. Major decisions about a presidential campaign may be made at the national level but their implementation depends upon the effectiveness of party workers at other levels of the organizational structure.

In a well coordinated campaign, a number of inter-related groups work

together to influence individual voters. A diagram of the organizational hierarchy for a campaign looks something like the chart that follows:

POLICY GROUP



Of all the groups within this hierarchy, the precinct organization is the basic political unit. Jacob Arvey, former Chairman of the Cook County Democratic

Organization, stated that whenever he called a meeting of precinct captains to discuss election plans, he would get up and say: "Never mind about the country; never mind about the state; never mind about the city; never mind about the ward. You take care of the precinct."

Precinct work begins long before an election. During the months when individuals can register to vote, the precinct captain covers his territory to locate those sympathetic to his party and to help them register. In a large precinct, the precinct captain usually has the assistance of several block captains, each responsible for a specific part of the precinct. These party workers make a door-to-door canvass to obtain information about each householder.

The canvass of the precinct during the voter registration period has four goals. First, the party worker brings his list of eligible voters up-to-date. Move-outs are crossed from the list; move-ins are added. Second, he locates first voters, young people who have just turned 21. They may be influenced by the kindness of the party worker who helps them register. Third, he locates absentees - invalids, people who may be out of town on election day, men in the armed forces - and notes those who need help in obtaining absentee ballots. Fourth, the party worker tries to find out the party preference of individual voters so he can determine those who will probably vote for the candidate of his party.

Voters in a precinct can be divided into three groups: saints, sinners and savables. The saints are members of the precinct worker's party; the sinners, the members of the opposition party. Savables are independents or those whose party loyalties are weak. After the canvass, the party workers concentrate their efforts upon the saints and the savables.

The weeks before an election are busy ones for the precinct workers. Much of their time will be spent in "doorbell ringing" — calling on voters in their homes and making a personal appeal for the party's candidates. The precinct and block captains also pass out campaign literature, pictures of the candidates, bumper stickers and buttons. They encourage attendance at party rallies and offer such services as baby sitting and transportation to the polls on election day.

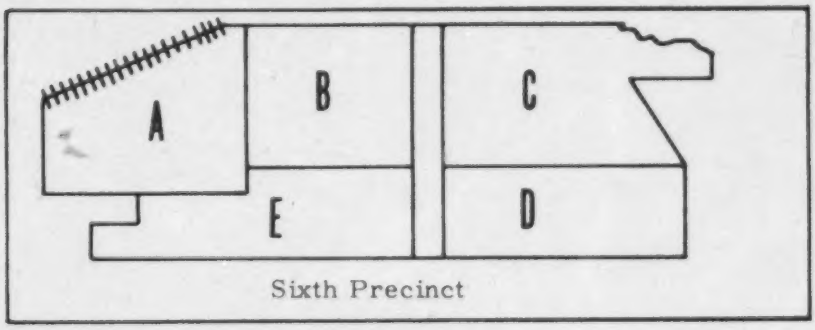
In a well organized precinct, the party workers will know the interests of each voter and the issues about which each is concerned. The more information they have about a voter, the better able they will be to influence that voter's decision.

Precinct work is both demanding and time consuming but it is not without its rewards. In larger cities, the precinct captain often holds a patronage job and his continued employment may depend upon his precinct's showing on election day. Where patronage is not involved, precinct captains receive personal satisfaction and prestige in the community for their party work.

Precinct Planning

Harry Johnson is captain of the Sixth Precinct in the suburb of Park Grove. Johnson has finished a canvass of his precinct and is now ready to develop plans for party work from now to election day. He will use many types of information in making decisions about precinct strategy.

1. Precinct Map



Sixth Precinct

Area A is a low income area a few blocks from the downtown business district. Two public housing projects are located in the area. Most of the residents are unskilled

laborers or restaurant or domestic employees. Area B contains neat, well-maintained one family houses on small lots. Wage-earners work either as semi-skilled or skilled laborers. Many of them work in the construction trades. A public housing project for senior citizens is located within this area. Area C (like Area D) is separated from the rest of the precinct by a wide boulevard. This area is just beginning to be developed; old farm houses stand side-by-side with new homes in the $30,000 and above price bracket. Residents in the area are mostly business and professional men. The area contains a new elementary and high school complex. Area D is a new housing development of split-levels in the $25,000 class. A few of the residents of this area are retired salesmen but most of the men living here are employed at the middle-executive level of large companies or businesses. Most of the families have children of high school or college age. Area E is adjacent to the Third Army Headquarters. Many army officers who work at the headquarters reside in this area. Other residents are junior executives and younger professional men.

2. Voter Distribution: Last Election

Area	Our Party	Opposition Party	Total Vote	Total Number of Voters Registered
A	66	98	164	236
B	36	53	89	102
C	31	12	43	46
D	47	22	69	75
E	55	52	107	122
TOTALS	235	237	472	581

3. Campaign Literature

Straw polls in the local newspapers show that presidential candidate Samuel B. Second is running well ahead of the rest of the candidates on the

Americana party ticket. The central party organization in Park Grove had provided Harry Johnson with four pieces of campaign literature about Senator Second.

End the Draft - a leaflet giving Senator Second's reasons for favoring a well paid volunteer army rather than an army of draftees.

Time For A Change - a flyer attacking waste and corruption in the opposition party's welfare and urban renewal programs.

A Man of the People - a four-page picture biography of Senator Second showing his working class parents, his wife and children, his army service in World War II, and his legislative career.

Citizens for Second - a series of short statements by prominent independent citizens of the state telling why they support Senator Second.

With this information before him, Harry Johnson must answer these questions:

1. In what areas of the precinct should he concentrate his efforts?
2. In what areas can he expect to gain additional votes over those given to his party in the last election?
3. What type of campaign literature should he distribute in each of the areas?
4. What arguments should he use in approaching individual voters:
   a. Party members?
   b. Independent voters?
   c. Opposition party members?
5. Should he give "equal time" to other party candidates?

Work with a small committee of your classmates to plan precinct strategy.

The Plot Thickens

An election campaign can be a relatively simple contest between the "ins" and the "outs." The plot thickens when strong third parties compete with the two major parties for voter support. In the 1968 election several minor parties named candidates for the Presidency. The Peace and Freedom Party nominated Eldrige

Cleaver while Dick Gregory ran as the candidate of the New Party. The Communist Party entered a candidate for the first time since the election of 1940 - Charlene Mitchell. Henning Blomen, Fred Halstead and E. Harold Nunn, Sr., were candidates of the Socialist Labor, Socialist Worker and Prohibition Parties. Even comedian Pat Paulsen campaigned for the presidency.

The names of the candidates above were on the ballot in only a few states. Their parties had little effect on the election. But one minor party candidate, George C. Wallace, former Democratic Governor of Alabama, and his party, the American Independent Party, played a significant role in the campaign.

A consistent foe of racial integration, Governor Wallace made a determined effort to win the support of white voters who oppose civil rights legislation. Wallace and his running mate Curtis LeMay campaigned throughout the country. Both called for strong military action in Vietnam and strong police action to fight crime in the streets. The American Independent Party was a third-party movement; when a minor party gains enough strength to have a noticeable effect on the campaign it is considered to be a third party. Wallace and LeMay received 9,906,114 popular votes on election day and 46 electoral votes. It seems likely that the American Independent Party will continue to be a force in American political life.

Minor parties have existed at all times in our nation's political history. On only a few occasions have these parties been strong enough to influence more than a few voters. Minor parties can, however, raise issues that are being ignored by the major parties and they do add considerable excitement to the presidential race.

A list of the parties that put forth presidential candidates in the elections from 1832 to 1860 tells the story of men important in their day but now lost in the dust of history. Who today remembers James G. Birney, candidate of the Liberty Party in 1844 or Nathaniel B. Parks, candidate of the North American Party in 1856? Two such parties did raise significant issues during this period. The Free Soil Party was formed in 1848 to oppose the admission of new slave states to the Union. Martin Van Buren, a former president, ran as the party's first candidate on the platform: "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor and Free Men." The party did not

carry any state but it polled over 291,000 votes. Thirteen Free Soil candidates were elected to the House of Representatives and one Free Soiler, Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, was elected to the Senate. The party ran a presidential candidate again in 1852 but, by the election of 1856, party members joined forces with the newly formed Republican Party.

At about this same time, members of secret societies which formed in about 1852 to protest against immigration united into the American Party. Nick-named the "Know-Nothings," the party also opposed the appointment of Catholics and the foreign born to official positions. The party meetings of the group were held secretly and when anyone not a party member questioned party policies, party members replied "I don't know." Constant repetition of this phrase gave the party its nickname. The American Party polled large votes in New York and Pennsylvania in the state elections of 1852. Their presidential candidate Millard Fillmore, also a former president, received 849,872 popular votes and 8 electoral votes in the election of 1856. The party split over the slavery question and passed out of existence.

Short-lived as these two parties were, the issues they raised - an end to slavery and opposition to minority groups - are still with us today. In other forms, they are the same as concerns expressed by voters who opposed and supported the candidacy of George C. Wallace in 1968.

Student Assignment

In the past 100 years, minor parties have seriously challenged major party candidates several times. As your homework assignment for class tomorrow, you will be asked to do research on one of these political parties: the Greenback Party, the Populist Party, the Progressive Party or the Socialist Party.

Use these questions to guide your research:

1. When was the party formed?

2. What major programs did the party support?

3. Who were the party's leaders?

4. How much of a force was the party in American political life?

5. How did the party affect the policies of the major parties?

6. Why did the party go out of existence?

Class Session Eight: **Three's A Crowd**

Third Party Programs

Third parties receive no praise from professional politicians. These men certainly agree with the old adage: "Two's company but three's a crowd." Thomas E. Dewey, Republican candidate in 1948, who had his troubles in New York first with the American Labor Party and then with the Liberal Party, said that such sectional parties "have proved to be a menace to responsible government here just as they have to free government elsewhere."[1] On the national scene, however, Dewey found occasional justification for third parties.

Professional politicians aside, third parties have been a vital force in providing new ideas when the two major parties seem to have stagnated. Immediately after the Civil War, both Republicans and Democratic parties fell under the sway of the leaders of business and industry. Rapid industrialization became the impetus for the emergence of the United States as a great nation. All too often during this period, the needs and interests of poor farmers and laborers were neglected. Between 1876 and 1884, the Greenback Party became active. The party name referred to the "greenbacks" or paper notes that were issued in large numbers during the Civil War. The Greenbackers believed that issuing large amounts of paper money would bring prosperity, especially to the farmer, by raising prices and making debts easier to pay. At its first party convention In 1876, Peter Cooper was nominated. Cooper received only 82,797 votes in the presidential election. The party succeeded in electing several congressmen in 1878. James Weaver was the presidential candidate in 1880 on a broadened platform that included support for an income tax, an eight-hour day, and votes for women. The party again did poorly - receiving slightly more than 300,000 votes out of the 9 million cast - and thereafter the party went out of existence.

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[1] Quoted in The New Language of Politics by William Safire, page 444

Stronger support for the rights of the farmers and workers came from the members of the Populist Party. Formed in 1892 by representatives from the National Grange, Farmers' Alliances and the Knights of Labor, the party stood for social reforms to help the working classes. The Populists supported an increase in the money supply through unlimited coinage of silver and the printing of paper notes, an eight-hour day, direct election of Senators, the initiative and recall referendum, and the use of the Australian ballot. James Weaver, the Populist candidate in 1892, polled 1,029,960 popular votes and received 22 electoral votes. The party also elected a considerable number of other candidates to office. In the Congressional election of 1894, it polled almost 1,500,000 votes.

By 1896, many Democratic leaders had come to favor the Populist program and these leaders gained control of the Democratic Party. When the Democrats nominated William Jennings Bryan, the Populists joined forces with the Democrats by also nominating Bryan. In a close election, Republican William McKinley defeated Bryan by only 600,000 votes out of 13 million votes cast. In the presidential election of 1900 Populist candidate Wharton Baker polled only 50,605 votes but in 1904 candidate Thomas (Pa) Watson raised the Populist tally to 114,790 votes. The last year that the Populists ran a presidential candidate - 1908 - Watson's vote dropped to 29,147 and the party ceased to be a major force in American political life. Two of the Populist ideas - the income tax and direct election of Senators - became realities a generation after the party died.

In 1912 liberal Republicans bolted their party when the convention renominated President William Howard Taft. They formed the Progressive or "Bull Moose" Party with former President Theodore Roosevelt as their candidate. The new party took its nickname from Roosevelt's statement: "I feel as fine as a bull moose." Differences between Republicans in 1912 seemed to be more over personality than over policy; the Progressives preferred the more dynamic leadership of Roosevelt to that of the cautious Taft. The Progressive Party actually became the second party in the election. Roosevelt received 4,127,788 popular votes to Taft's 3,485,831 and 88 electoral votes to Taft's 8. As a result of this split in the Republican Party, the

Democrats and their candidate Woodrow Wilson won the election.

The Progressives nominated Roosevelt again in 1916 but he refused to run and most of the Progressive leaders went back into the Republican Party. Then in 1924 a group led by Senator Robert La Follette of Wisconsin reformed the Progressive Party. Under LaFollette's leadership, the Progressive Party platform supported direct primaries, equalization of taxation, labor reforms, public power projects and public ownership of the railroads. LaFollette and his running mate, Senator Burton K. Wheeler, received 4,832,532 votes in the election of 1924, the largest number of popular votes of any third party candidate up to that time. The party captured the electoral votes of only one state - Wisconsin - for a total of 13. After LaFollette's death in 1925, his work was carried on by his two sons, Phillip and Robert, Jr., who was named Senator after his father's death. In 1946, Senator Robert LaFollette, Jr. returned to the Republican Party and in March of that year the Progressive Party voted to rejoin the Republicans.

During these same years of Progressive Party activity, another party also gained prominence. Founded in the 1800's, the Socialist Party numbered 400,000 members by 1904. In 1912, the man whose name was to be thereafter identified with the party, Eugene Debs, first ran as its presidential candidate, polling 901,255 votes. A pioneer American labor union leader, Debs formed the American Railway Union in 1893 and devoted his life to labor and socialist causes. In 1918, Debs was arrested for condemning government prosecutions for sedition and sentenced to ten years for violation of the Espionage Act. While a prisoner, he was the Socialist candidate for president in 1920 and received nearly a million votes.

In 1924, the Socialists joined with the Progressives to support Robert La Follette but in 1928 they again ran their own candidate, Norman Thomas, and polled almost 900,000 votes. Norman Thomas served as the Socialist candidate in the elections of 1932, 1936, 1940, 1944 and 1948. Over the years, the Socialist Party has supported such measures as government ownership of natural resources and public utilities, health and accident insurance, old-age and mother's pensions, direct election of the President and Vice-President and gradual disarmament.

In 1948, two parties formed as a result of dissatisfaction with the Democratic Party. Liberal Democrats who felt President Truman's policies were too conservative and warlike formed a new Progressive Party with Henry A. Wallace as their candidate. Some Southern Democrats felt Truman was too radical about civil rights and formed the States Rights or Dixiecrat Party headed by Senator J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina. The Dixiecrats polled 1,176,125 votes and won four states with 39 electoral votes. The Progressives received 1,157,326 and, although failing to carry any states, drew enough Democratic votes in New York and Michigan to put these states in the Republican column. The Democrats managed to survive this double "split-off", Harry Truman scored an upset victory over GOP candidate Thomas E. Dewey.

Historian Richard Hofstader states that the principal role of third parties is not to win elections but to stimulate political debate. "Third parties," he writes, "are like bees: once they have stung, they die."[1] In the complex world of today, there is always a core of dissatisfied voters around which a third party movement can organize. Those dissatisfied with the pace of political progress in the United States often agree with Archy of Don Marquis' Archie and Mehetabel who answered the question: "Do you ever think the time is ripe for launching a third national political party in the United States?" with these words: "It is more than ripe it is rotten!"

Compare and Contrast

The section you have just read and the research done by you and your classmates will provide the information for the columns of the chart on the next page:

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[1] Quoted in The New Language of Politics by William Safire, page 444.

	Greenback Party	Populist Party	Progressive Party	Socialist Party
Reason for Formation				
Major Programs				
Party Leaders				
Party Effectiveness				
Response of Major Parties				
Reason for Dissolution				

After you have filled in the chart, compare the information about these parties and answer these questions:

1. Why do third parties form?
2. What do the programs of these four parties have in common?
3. What qualities do you think the leader of a third party must have?
4. Which of these four parties was most effective? Why?
5. How do third parties affect the policies of major parties?
6. Why do third parties dissolve?
7. How are third parties a "menace to responsible government"?
8. How do American voters benefit from the work of third parties?

Don't Waste your Vote

In elections where third party candidates are expected to be strong, the political leaders of the major parties attempt to discourage voter interest in these splinter groups. They maintain that a vote for a candidate who has no chance to win is a wasted vote.

Richard Regular has this to say about a vote for a third-party candidate:

"A vote for a splinter party candidate is a vote for the opposition. It has the same effect as a direct vote for the major opposition candidate.

"If you don't believe me, look at the record. The combined Republican vote in the election of 1912 was over 7,500,000. But because Republicans split their votes by supporting Progressive Party candidate Teddy Roosevelt, the voters gave the election to Woodrow Wilson even though he polled only 6,300,000 votes.

"Splinter parties almost cost Harry Truman the election in 1948. Truman was right when he said 'a vote for the third party plays into the hands of the Republican forces of reaction whose aims are directly opposed to the aim of American liberalism.'

"And how about 1968? The Democrats who voted for Wallace may have deprived Hubert Humphrey of the election. Humphrey lost to Richard Nixon by only 500,000 votes. How many of the almost 10,000,000 votes that Wallace got might have gone into the Democratic column if Wallace had not been in the race? Enough, say the Democrats, to have elected Hubert.

"Voters who back third party candidates are voting in the air. They give up the privilege of deciding from among the two men likely to win. They might as well stay home and not bother to vote."

Mr. Regular makes a convincing case for support of major party candidates, but surely there is something to be said for the other side of the question. What arguments can you give to counter Richard Regular's statement?

Student Assignment

Sally Splinter is a consistent supporter of third-party candidates. She believes that principle must always be put above party politics. Write a 100-word statement for Sally Splinter giving reasons why concerned voters should support third-party candidates in presidential elections.

Class Session Nine: **The End of the Trail**

Election Eve

At some time during the campaign with hundreds of handshakes and thousands of words behind him but with even more ahead, it must seem to every presidential candidate that the ordeal of electioneering will never end. Then suddenly the last days arrive and the end of the campaign trail is in sight.

Although the last few days are feverish ones, maximum effort is reserved for a final appeal to voters on the eve of the election. It is customary for a presidential contender to end the campaign in his home state although this custom is not always followed. Sometimes a candidate selects a large city where more extensive television facilities will enable him to put on an impressive special for the nation.

Richard Nixon in 1960 ended his campaign in Chicago. His final television performance was but one event in a series of video bombardments of the electorate. Theodore H. White in The Making of the President 1960 presents an account of the Republican use of television during the last days of the Nixon campaign:

"The Republicans began their final assault on the American mind with a national telecast of a Nixon rally in Cincinnati on October 25th; followed it with an Eisenhower telecast out of Pittsburgh on Saturday, October 29th; offered another national rally on television with Eisenhower, Nixon and Lodge out of New York on November 2nd; followed this every night of the last week with a live Nixon television show of fifteen minutes at seven o'clock in the evening. And then, on Monday, November 7th, the day before the election, they let the purse strings pop in what was certainly the most expensive and probably the most effective burst of television electioneering since the medium invaded American culture. On Monday afternoon, November 7th, at a cost that Republicans estimated at $200,000 (and Democrats insisted was $400,000), Nixon held national attention on the ABC network from Detroit in a four-hour telethon that mixed schmaltz and substance in equal proportions, showing the Republican candidate at his best (talking of peace) and at his worst (discussing the high cost of living with Ginger Rogers, who said she too had to

live on a salary). It is estimated that one out of five American homes entertained the Vice-President at some time during that afternoon. And although the audience was largely one of housewives who flicked the candidate on and off as they received the children back from school, prepared supper and waited for the breadwinner to come home, there can be no doubt that millions of them must have caught him in his good moments and have been influenced by him. Nixon was followed at 6:30 (EST) for fifteen minutes by Governor Thomas E. Dewey, at an estimated cost of $35,000 to $40,000. A three-way half-hour hookup between Nixon, Eisenhower and Lodge at eleven in the evening probably cost between $50,000 and $70,000, and its repeat over ABC and NBC from 11:30 to midnight probably cost the Republicans another $45,000 for each network. All in all, Monday before election saw half a million dollars spent on the Republican television effort."[1]

The effect of all this, according to political analysts, was to bring thousands of voters back into the Republican camp and to bring Nixon within a hair of winning the presidency. Many authorities claim that Nixon would have won the election if he had made as masterful use of television throughout the campaign as he did in these last days.

Lyndon Johnson by contrast in 1964 knew that he would win the election with ease and therefore gave less attention to his election eve television appearance. A television show on election eve showed him leaving the White House lawn by helicopter for the airport where he boarded a plane for Texas. Johnson flew to Houston. There he spoke at a last campaign rally and then went onward to Austin where he briefly addressed a crowd of supporters from the steps of the State Capitol. He spoke calmly and without great passion; a sure winner has no need for dramatic words.

Whether the election eve appeal by a candidate is highly persuasive or

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[1] The Making of the President 1960 by Theodore H. White, pages 351-352.

calmly confident, the hours after this last appeal are introspective ones. Undoubtedly the contender reviews in his mind the strategy of the campaign and the many events that were part of that strategy. Certainly he wonders which of his actions most influenced voters. He questions how voters will make their decisions - on the issues or on the personalities of the candidates?

Campaigns are not rated highly by public opinion specialists as ways of influencing voter behavior. Many researchers believe that 60 to 70 percent of the voters make up their minds immediately after the conventions and therefore pay little attention to the campaign. Anywhere from 20 to 30 percent have mild doubts about which candidate to back and only 10 percent are serious waverers. If so large a number of voters have made their choices early in the game, what purpose does intensive campaigning serve? The real purpose of a campaign is not so much to change minds but to raise the enthusiasm of those who already support the candidate. Lukewarm supporters may never get to the polls on election day; the regulars must be "roused" if enough winning votes are to be obtained.

As for the issues, differences between the two parties have probably already been blunted as a result of compromises in the convention to get a platform that everyone will support. In 1928, Will Rogers said of the Hoover-Smith campaign: "Hoover wants all the drys and as many wets as possible. Smith wants all the wets and as many drys as possible. Hoover says he will relieve the farmer, even if he has to call Congress; Smith says he will relieve the farmer even if he has to appoint a commission. Hoover says the tariff will be kept up. Smith says the tariff will not be lowered. Hoover is strongly in favor of prosperity and Smith highly endorses it."[1]

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[1] Quoted in White House Fever by Robert Bendiner, page 122.

Assuming voters are little influenced by campaign oratory and little aware of real differences between the parties on major issues, what factors are important in election decisions? Elections are usually decided not upon what candidates say about issues but what the electorate thinks the nominees really mean and what it thinks their capacities and following enable them to deliver in the way of programs for the country. The winning candidate is the man the voters trust to serve as their leader; character is thus more significant than campaign strategy. More than this, the mood of the country and the circumstances of the day affect the election. The winner must match that mood and be in command of those circumstances.

Election history offers many examples of the better man who did not win because his personality and message did not meet the mood of the country and the voters. James Cox was better qualified than Warren G. Harding but Harding stood for "normalcy" and that was what the country wanted in 1920 after the nation's involvement in World War I. John Davis in 1924 could perhaps have better handled the economy but silent Cal Coolidge had the voter's confidence and was returned to office. One of the cruelest frustrations that a presidential candidate must face in the last hours before the election is the knowledge that good men have gone down to defeat while lesser men have been given victory by the voters.

Vox Populi

Politicians wake early on election day. Everything now is in the hands of the voters. Candidates set an example by appearing early at the polls where the inevitable election day photographs are taken as they enter the polling place. Precinct captains and county chairmen keep an anxious eye upon the weather, hoping for clear skies. A rainy day was traditionally said to be Democratic weather since rain could make impassable the country roads on which Republican farmers lived but would not affect the paved big city streets where Democratic voters lived. Now with hardtop roads almost everywhere, the weather no longer favors one party over another. Yet politicians still prefer dry weather. Somehow sunshine seems to pick up party spirits and offers the promise of victory.

Steadily through the day Americans line up at polling places across the nation

to cast their ballots. In the 1968 election, over 120,000,000 people were eligible to vote. To be eligible, an individual must be a citizen of the United States, be over twenty-one years of age in most states, and have registered to vote prior to the election. Four states allow citizens under twenty-one years to vote. The voting age in Georgia and Kentucky is eighteen while this age is nineteen in Alaska and twenty in Hawaii. Registration requirements in most states involve a legally set period of residence in the state, county and precinct.

Throughout our country's history, the right to vote has been progressively extended to more and more people. When the nation was new, the vote was limited to male property-holders; these constituted a minority of the population. Around the middle of the nineteenth century, property restrictions on voting were discontinued in most states. Then, in 1920 with the enactment of the Nineteenth Amendment, women were given the vote and the number of eligible voters more than doubled.

Each year the number of eligible voters is larger. This growth is due not only to increases in our population but also to new laws and constitutional amendments which have extended rights of suffrage. The Twenty-third Amendment passed in 1961 gave residents of the District of Columbia the right to vote in presidential elections. The district was given three electoral votes. Previously Congress had barred voting by citizens of Washington, D.C. out of fear that federal employees would support the party already in power.

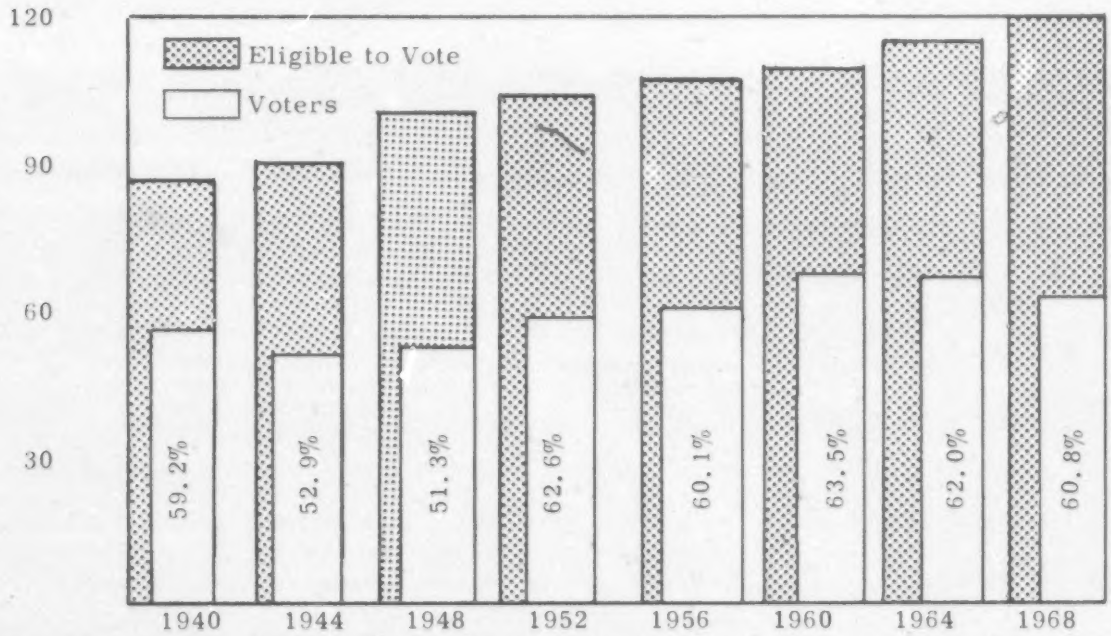
In 1964 the Twenty-fourth Amendment abolished poll or voting taxes. Only five states - Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia - were still enforcing these taxes. This amendment and the Voting Rights Act passed in 1965 have made possible greater registration of Negro voters in the South. The Voting Rights Act suspended literacy tests and other devices to determine qualifications of voters in states where less than 50 percent of the voting age population was registered. Negro registration following these new laws rose to 46.5% in 1966, almost twice the percentage of Negro voters registered previously.

Those still not allowed to vote in presidential elections include convicts and

hundreds of thousands of Americans who have moved from one state to another within the previous year or six months. Because the United States has become an increasingly mobile society, many believe that residency requirements should be revised so that no otherwise eligible voter will be prevented from casting his ballot in a presidential election.

Voter registration has increased greatly in recent years yet the United States still lags behind other free nations in voter participation. In 1968 over 72,000,000 citizens voted but this represented only 60.8% of the 120,000,000 eligible voters. In off-year elections - those between presidential years - the voting percentage falls to one-half while only about 25 percent of the voters cast ballots in city and state elections. These figures represent a poor showing for Americans as compared with other countries. National elections in Canada usually draw 80 percent of the eligible voters; in Italy and Australia 90 percent of those eligible vote while in Venezuela the turnout is 95 percent.

Voting percentages in national elections in the United States have varied with the elections as this graph shows:



Source: Bureau of the Budget

It is interesting to note that the slightly more than one percent decrease in voter participation from 1964 to 1968 represented almost a million and a half voters.

Various reasons are given for the low participation in American elections. Many voters fail to register at the proper time and place. Others fail to qualify because they have recently moved. All too many do not vote simply because they are not interested. Adults under 30 years of age and over 55 are less likely to vote than those within these ages. Less educated citizens and those in the lower economic ranks are also less likely to vote.

Compulsory voting has been suggested by some as a solution to the problem of non-voters. In 1636 Plymouth Colony fined eligible voters three shillings for failure to participate in an election. In modern times Switzerland (where women do not have the vote) and Belgium have punished non-voters by fines or loss of rights. Those who oppose such a compulsory approach point out that it would force the uninformed and the indifferent to cast ballots even though they may not know the candidates or understand the issues.

Some changes in voting behavior may be encouraged by making voting more convenient for today's voters. The percentage of voters who register and vote is higher in states that do make it relatively easy to vote. In Idaho, where citizens who have lived in the state six months can register as late as three days before the election, 75 percent of the citizens voted in 1964. In Mississippi, where two years of residence is required, only 33 percent of the electorate voted. Changes in registration laws as well as changes to lengthen the hours that polls are open might encourage more Americans to vote.

Any discussion of non-voting behavior must also take into consideration that some voters consciously refuse to cast a ballot as a protest tactic. Militant black leaders in Chicago were urging Negroes before the 1968 election to stay away from the polls as a way of attacking the failure of all candidates to respond to black demands. A similar tactic was suggested by leaders of various peace organizations who claimed that neither of the major party candidates could end the war in Vietnam. While it is questionable that non-voting is an effective political tactic, it is likely

that both individuals and groups of voters will continue to use it in situations where they feel they cannot support any of the available candidates for office.

Student Assignment

1. Make Way for Youth

High school and college students played a significant part in the presidential election of 1968. From primary elections in key states through the convention and the campaign, young citizens were involved at all levels of political activity. Such sustained effort certainly indicates an interest in the political process.

This effort and interest has given new support to the drive to lower the voting age to eighteen. The issue has been debated for many years with strong arguments being given both for and against an eighteen year old voting age. A decision on the issue requires knowledge of the advantages and disadvantages of such a move.

For class tomorrow, list as many arguments as you can both for and against the lowering of the voting age. You may wish to do some library research to find magazine articles or other information on this topic before starting your list.

2. Extra Credit Exercise

The three assignments below are suggested as extra credit topics relating to the ideas discussed in today's session:

a. Using the Constitution of the United States as a guide, find the statements on voting rights in that document and trace through the extension of these rights as indicated by various amendments to the Constitution.

b. Interview the appropriate election official in your precinct, ward, village or city to find out the procedures for voter registration and the data on the percent of eligible voters actually registered. Compute the percentage of eligible voters in your area who voted in the 1968 presidential election and compare this to the national percentage.

c. Read They Also Ran by Irving Stone and write a report based on this excellent overview of the losing candidates for the presidency.

Class Session Ten: **Votes and Victory**

The Party's Over

In early elections, voters had to wait weeks to learn the name of the next President. Even in recent days the outcome of an election was not known until late in the day after the election. Ballots had to be hand counted and the results from each precinct tallied and verified. Counting was a slow process and the closer the election the longer the count seemed to take.

Paper ballots were first used in America in 1629 and were considered an improvement over voice voting. The voter's right to privacy was not always protected even with these ballots. Parties sometimes printed their own ballots on colored paper so that leaders could tell which voters chose their party. The secret ballot system was introduced into the United States in 1888 and now each voter is guaranteed the right to mark his ballot in secret.

Today, thanks to widespread use of voting machines and a nationwide communications network, millions of TV viewers are informed of the probable outcome of the election long before all the votes are cast. Computers forecast local, state and national trends on the basis of the first few votes that come in. For many older Americans, who relished the suspense of the slow count, much of the excitement has gone out of election night.

Nevertheless few adults foresake the television sets on election night. Experienced election viewers know the sequence of the voter returns - first east, then mid-west, then far west. Theodore H. White captures the drama of the night in this passage from The Making of the President 1960:

"There is a traditional profile to the outline of news on election nights in America that is exciting and instructive, although it is also artificial, deceitful and imposed by the mechanics of counting. Voting in America is a simultaneous act of many citizens; by the time counting has begun, the act is over; only the sequence of tally makes it seem like a narrative drama; yet the drama, though false, is illuminating.

"Returns usually start in upper New England, as the clean white hamlets of the northern hills, largely Protestant and overwhelmingly Republican, race each other to hit the news wires first and enjoy a fleeting midmorning fame as their names flash in early newspaper editions. By late afternoon returns from rural and mountain counties across the land begin to trickle in. Tennessee's rural areas close their polls at four in the afternoon; an hour later, eastern (or mountain) Kentucky begins to close its county polls, as does rural Alabama; so do Maine precincts with fewer than 300 voters. By this time substantial returns are in from Kansas (again, heavily Republican) where this year separate tally sheets and separate ballots permitted some Kansas communities to count the vote as it proceeded throughout the day. The early news reports that late afternoon papers show as people come home from work always bear tidings of a Republican lead.

"Then, between six and seven, the tide changes. At six the polls close in urban Alabama, rural Illinois, Indiana, Mississippi, rural Oklahoma, South Carolina, urban Tennessee and Vermont. At 6:30 Arkansas, North Carolina and Ohio close their polls and begin to check in. And at seven comes the deluge: the Democrats from the big-city states.

"A few minutes after seven the political silhouette of the industrial Northeast first becomes apparent - for Connecticut, a state that closes its polls at seven, votes on machines and counts quickly. At 7:15 the returns from Bridgeport, New Haven, Hartford - Democratic-industrial bastions all - are pouring in. Fifteen minutes later the slightly slower returns are totaled from the suburban towns of Fairfield County, the bedroom of New York's Republican executive class. Connecticut is a switch-voting state, and when Fairfield County's gut-Republicans balance out against the gut-Democrats of the factory towns, the first real clue to the nation's decision shows. At 7:30 on voting day of 1956, when Bridgeport repudiated Adlai E. Stevenson, it was instantly clear that this repudiation in a factory town meant that Eisenhower was to sweep the country nationwide.

"By the time the news systems and the commentators on TV and radio have digested Connecticut, the other big Democratic cities of the East are beginning to

flood the wires. First Philadelphia (where polls close at 7:30), then Pittsburgh, then Chicago, then, at nine o'clock, when New York closes its polls, to midnight the Democratic tide reaches its peak as the big cities of Michigan, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, swamp the vote-gathering facilities of the news networks.

"Between ten and midnight the United States is politically leaderless - there is no center of information anywhere in the nation except in the New York headquarters of the great broadcasting companies and the two great wire services. No candidate and no party can afford the investment on election night to match the news-gathering resources of the mass media; and so, as every citizen sits in his home watching his TV set or listening to his radio, he is the equal of any other in knowledge. There is nothing that can be done in these hours, for no one can any longer direct the great strike for America's power; the polls have closed. Good or bad, whatever the decision, America will accept the decision - and cut down any man who goes against it, even though for millions the decision runs contrary to their own votes. The general vote is an expression of national will, the only substitute for violence and blood. Its verdict is to be defended as one defends civilization itself.

"There is nothing like this American expression of will in England or France, India or Russia or China. Only one other major nation in modern history has ever tried to elect its leader directly by mass, free, popular vote. This was the Weimar Republic of Germany, which modeled its unitary vote for national leader on American practice. Out of its experiment with the system it got Hitler. Americans have had Lincoln, Wilson, two Roosevelts. Nothing can be done when the voting returns are flooding in; the White House and its power will move to one or another of the two candidates, and all will know about it in the morning. But for these hours history stops.

"If the Democrats are going to win, they must have a healthy margin of several million votes by midnight. After midnight the tide reverses itself as the farm states, the mountain states, the Pacific Coast, all begin to check in with their traditionally Republican tallies. Thus the profile that repeats itself every four years and creates the arbitrary drama of election night: the afternoon and early-evening

trickle of Republican votes, the Democratic tide from the big cities between eight and midnight and then, after midnight, the Repulican counter-assault.

"There is little that can be done by either political leadership about these tides - except for the opportunity of a grace note that television and radio have recently given them. This last grace note of the campaign hinges on Connecticut. Connecticut, which closes its polls by seven and knows its results by 7:30, has a three-hour advantage over California, whose rhythm of the day is measured by Pacific Coast Time. When it is eight in Connecticut, it is only five in the afternoon in California. If, as in 1956, the early returns from Connecticut show a Republican landslide, it makes the efforts of the Democratic poll workers in California seem hopeless, and they fade for their homes and their headquarters to nurse their wounds among friends. If, on the contrary, Connecticut shows a strong Democratic lead, it inspires the Democratic workers in California - or so the theory runs - to redouble their efforts to bring the last registrants, the laggard voters, to the polls before seven o'clock Pacific Time. The psychology of the bandwagon, of being with the victor, may affect ten, twenty or fifty thousand California votes; conversely, the psychology of emergency may, if there seems the slightest hope, rush sluggards out of their homes to vote their convictions. Both parties focus down tightly on Connecticut on election evening to transmit early results in order to influence the California vote. (The results, historically, in 1960 were open to two contradictory interpretations. California went for Nixon by 35,623 votes out of 6,507,000, or one tenth of one per cent. It was won, one may argue, because Eisenhower took to the air waves at eight o'clock Eastern Standard Time - five o'clock Pacific Time - to counteract the Connecticut influence in California; or it was close, one may argue, because the Democrats had so effectively prepared to get the results there that fast.

"This is the profile, known to all."[1]

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[1] The Making of the President 1960 by Theodore H. White, pages 19-22

Little takes place at the presidential candidate's campaign headquarters during the early hours on election night. Political aides make confident statements for television but anxiously anlyze each new set of returns. As more and more votes are tallied, the mood at headquarters changes. Supporters of the candidate who is in the lead become more and more bouyant. They sense victory and their spirits soar. In the headquarters of the apparent loser, supporters continue to speak of victory but an uneasy pall of defeat begins to settle over the room. They await the appearance of their candidate and his inevitable speech of concession. Out of courtesy to his opponent, the victorious candidate usually waits for a formal concession before he makes his victory speech.

The speech conceding defeat is as old as politics but network television coverage has made it a more formal tradition. Concession speeches can be bitter or poignant, brief or eloquent, gracious or grudging. One of the most eloquent was Adlai Stevenson's statement in 1952. After reading his congratulatory telegram to General Eisenhower, he concluded: "Someone asked me, as I came in, down on the street, how I felt, and I was reminded of a story that a fellow-townsman of ours used to tell - Abraham Lincoln. They asked him how he felt once after an unsuccessful election. He said he felt like a little boy who had stubbed his toe in the dark. He said that he was too old to cry, but it hurt too much to laugh."[1]

Winning presidential candidates hope their victory will be sufficiently substantial to constitute a mandate, a clear authority to carry out their programs once in office. The closer the election, the less likely a candidate can claim that his victory is a demand for radical change. Nevertheless, every election has a winner and a loser and even though the margin between the two is close, the responsibility is clear. The winner will be President and must accept the task of leadership.

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[1] Quoted in The New Language of Politics by William Safire, page 422

One of the tragedies of American political life is that our system provides no clear role for the loser once the election is over. He may remain in public office if he has been nominated while in the middle of a term of office; even so his prestige will have been diminished by defeat. He serves as titular head of his party and is consulted regularly on party affairs but his influence within the party is lessened by his loss. All too often, the defeated candidate becomes the forgotten man of American politics.

Analyzing the Outcome

Elections are never really over so far as political analysts are concerned. For months thereafter, the data will be studied and interpreted. The voting behavior of various groups will be studied with the hope of discovering why they voted as they did. Trends will be sought and attempts made to apply these to party activity for the next election.

The best interpretations of presidential vote patterns are those done by the national public opinion research organizations. Barely one month after the 1968 election, George Gallup presented this analysis of the presidential vote by key population groups:

"PRINCETON, N.J. - With the final analysis of the 1968 election survey data now completed, The Gallup Poll can reveal the pattern of voting in 1968 and how this year's results compare with earlier presidential elections.

"Based on surveys conducted immediately before and after elections each year, these vote patterns form the basis of Republican and Democratic planning for the future.

"Since such information as age, sex, and occupation of voters is not recorded on election ballots, it is only through survey methods of proved accuracy that this information can become part of the political record of presidential years.

"Hubert H. Humphrey's recovery in the latter part of this year's campaign was spectacular. He gained at an average rate of 200,000 votes per day during

October, principally by sharply reducing the high rate of party defection that had plagued him early in the campaign.

"Many traditional Democrats, however, went over to Richard M. Nixon or George C. Wallace. Democratic party defection in this year's election was even higher than in the Dwight D. Eisenhower landslide victories in 1952 and 1956.

"The cracks in the Democratic wall are apparent in the national findings. The combination vote for Nixon and Wallace clearly indicates that conservative forces are stronger at this time than in many years.

"Traditional Democratic voting blocks, once considered "off limits" by GOP strategists, now appear as likely target groups for the Republicans in the years ahead.

"The Democratic coalition, forged in New Deal days of the big city vote, manual workers, Catholics, labor union members and Negroes, fell into brief disarray at the halfway mark of this year's campaign. But it solidified somewhat in the latter part of the campaign and succeeded in moving Humphrey into a virtual tie with Nixon in the popular vote.

"Democratic leaders, however, as they pick up the pieces of this year's defeat and point toward 1972, may have to live with the fact that the usually solid Democratic coalition has possibly played its last major decisive role for some years to come.

"Here are the highlights of this year's vote, based on survey data:

"Humphrey finished strong among young voters, those under 30. At the beginning of October, persons under 30 favored Nixon by 12 percentage points. They voted for Humphrey over Nixon by 9 percentage points.

"President Johnson had the support of a majority of the youngest voters in 1964, as did John F. Kennedy in 1960.

"The nation's older voters, over 50, were consistent in their pre-1964 political preferences and it was their strong support that sustained Nixon on Nov. 5.

"The Roman Catholics have not failed to give the Democratic ticket the larger share of their vote during the last three decades and such is the case this year. However, the margin is much smaller this year than in 1964 and 1960.

"Protestants were again consistent with past performance - excepting 1964 when many vote patterns were broken - and chose the Republican ticket by a fairly wide margin.

"In presidential elections prior to 1964, women voted more Republican than did men. The reverse has been true for the last two elections.

"Manual workers remained in the Democratic camp this year, but they gave Humphrey a considerably smaller proportion of their vote than they had given Mr. Johnson or Kennedy.

"As reported earlier, organized labor was a major shift group in this year's election with many labor union members leaving Wallace to vote for Humphrey near the end of the campaign.

"However, the percentage among this group who voted Democratic (56 per cent) is below that recorded in any election beginning with early New Deal days. The combined Wallace-Nixon vote represents a sizeable 'conservative' vote in a group that is generally regarded as 'left of center.'

"A majority of college-trained people voted the GOP ticket in this election, consistent with their pre-1964 behavior. Persons with a high school background divided their vote evenly between Humphrey and Nixon, closely reflecting the overall national vote, while a majority of grade school people voted for the Democratic ticket.

"The accompanying table gives the standings of each party's candidate in 1968 and in the three previous elections."[1]

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[1] Gallup Poll, Chicago Sun Times, December 8, 1968, page 40.

BREAKDOWN OF VOTE

	1956		1960		1964		1968		
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	Wallace
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
NATIONAL	42.2	57.8	50.1	49.9	61.3	38.7	43.0	43.4	13.6
Men	45	55	52	48	60	40	41	43	16
Women	39	61	49	51	62	38	45	43	12
White	41	59	49	51	59	41	38	47	15
Non-White	61	39	68	32	94	6	85	12	3
College	31	69	39	61	52	48	42	54	9
High School	42	58	52	48	62	38	42	43	15
Grad. School	50	50	55	45	66	34	52	33	15
Prof. & Bus.	32	68	42	58	54	46	34	56	10
White Collar	37	63	48	52	57	43	41	47	12
Manual	50	50	60	40	71	29	50	35	15
Farmers	46	54	48	52	53	47	29	51	20
Under 30	43	57	54	46	64	36	47	38	15
30-49 years	45	55	54	46	63	37	44	41	15
50 years & older	39	61	46	54	59	41	41	47	12
Protestant	37	63	38	62	55	45	35	49	16
Catholic	51	49	78	22	76	24	59	33	8
Republicans	4	96	5	95	20	80	9	86	5
Democrats	85	15	84	16	87	13	74	12	14
Independents	30	70	43	57	56	44	31	44	25

Student Assignment

As your homework assignment read Sections 1-4 of Article II of the United States Constitution to obtain information about the Electoral College. You may also wish to look up the Electoral College in the encyclopedia and read the article on the subject.

When you have completed your reading, write a one-paragraph statement telling what the Electoral College is and how it functions.

Class Session Eleven: **Bright College Days**

The Electoral College

When Richard Nixon made his victory speech in the early morning hours after Election Day, most Americans believed that he had been elected the next President of the United States. In reality, voters had on that day elected 538 citizens who, as electors from their respective states, would meet and choose the President.

The election for President occurred in Illinois on Monday, December 16, when Joseph E. King, John W. Spence, Diane Y. Tacker, Major General Robert M. Woodward, Edward P. Mason and twenty-one others journeyed to the state capital to cast their ballots. These twenty-six electors met in a legislative hearing room on the mezzanine floor of the capitol and, as expected, cast twenty-six votes for Richard M. Nixon. No punishment, however, would be possible if despite the clear choice of the voters they had voted for another man. The electors entered their vote on an official tally sheet, signed expense vouchers for $3.00 for every twenty miles they travelled to Springfield and then returned to their homes.

As in Illinois, electors from the other states also voted on December 16 for the President of the United States. The electoral ballots from all the states were sent by registered mail to Washington, D.C. where on January 6, in the presence of the Senate and the House of Representatives, the electoral votes were counted by the President of the Senate and the official results announced. Not until a few weeks before his inauguration was Richard M. Nixon the officially elected next President of the United States.

To many voters, the function of the Electoral College and the process whereby duly elected electors in turn select the President is a complete mystery. This short explanation from the 1969 World Book Year Book presents a simple overview of this system:

"No American - unless he is an elector - votes directly for the President of his choice. Instead, he votes for slates of opposing electors chosen by the contend-

ing parties. Thus, in Kansas, voters who placed an X beside Hubert H. Humphrey's name in November actually were voting for seven Democratic electors. Those who marked an X beside Richard M. Nixon's name were voting for Republican electors.

"The number of electors in each state is equal to the total number of Senators and Representatives the state has in Congress. Thus Kansas has seven electors because it has five Representatives and two Senators.

"Each state has a law under which its electoral votes are awarded to those electors representing the state-wide winner. When Nixon carried Illinois, for example, the state named the Republican electors as the men legally entitled to cast the state's 26 electoral votes. Had Humphrey won, the Democratic slate would have cast them. Although the Constitution does not obligate an elector to follow the popular vote in his state, he usually does so."[1]

The Electoral College was established by the authors of our Constitution for reasons that seemed to be compelling at that time. In the late 1700's many of the voters were illiterate; political leaders of that day doubted the ability of the average citizen to choose wisely from among contenders for the Presidency. They assigned the duty of electing the President and Vice-President to men who would be chosen by the state legislature of each state. Such a "blue ribbon" group could, the framers of the Constitution believed, make a more thoughful decision.

There have been major changes in the operation of the Electoral College over the years, yet it still remains as a curious tradition from the past. Originally the person given the highest number of votes by the electors was to be President and the man with the second highest total of votes, Vice-President. This procedure was changed after the election of 1800 when Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr received the same number of votes and the election had to be taken to the House of

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[1] The World Book Year Book for 1969, page 329.

Representatives. The Twelfth Amendment (ratified in 1804) provided that each elector cast one vote for President and one for Vice-President. The amendment also provided that if no person received more than half of all the votes cast, the House of Representatives would choose the President from the three men highest on the list. Each state would have one vote. The Senate would then choose the Vice-President in a similar manner. Only two of the thirty-four presidents were elected by the House of Representatives, Jefferson in 1800 and John Quincy Adams in 1824. The Senate has elected only one vice-president, Richard M. Johnson in 1837.

Electors in most states were chosen by state legislatures until 1868. Since that time, voters have chosen the electors in all states. The unit rule which requires the public to vote for a complete slate of electors from one party has been in effect since 1896.

Election Returns

To be elected, a presidential candidate needs to win a majority of the electoral votes. He is not required to have a majority of the popular vote. The relationship between electoral and popular votes in elections of the past provides some interesting illustrations of the problems of the Electoral College system. Study the data in the table that follows and see if you can discover the answers to these questions:

1. Two men were elected president although they received fewer popular votes than their apponents. Who were these men? How can you explain this occurrence?

2. Ninemen became president without a majority of the popular vote - Polk, Taylor, Buchanan, Lincoln, Garfield, Cleveland, Wilson, Kennedy and Nixon. How can you account for this? Did the presence or absence of strong third parties during these ten elections have any effect on their failure to obtain a majority?

3. In which elections since 1900 did winning candidates have the largest electoral vote relative to that of their opponents? The largest popular vote

relative to that of their opponents? Are these two lists the same? Why or why not?

4. In which elections since 1900 was the popular vote between the two contenders relatively close? Was the electoral vote equally close? Why or why not?

5. Can you find anything in this data to support a need for electoral reform?

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE

1788 - 1968

Year	President	Opponent	Electoral Vote		Popular Vote	
			Winner	Loser	Winner	Loser
1788	Washington	Adams	69	34		
1792	Washington	Adams	132	77		
1796	Adams	Jefferson	71	68		
1800	Jefferson	Burr	73	73 [1]		
1804	Jefferson	Pinckney	162	14		
1808	Madison	Pinckney	122	47		
1812	Madison	Clinton	128	89		
1816	Monroe	King	183	34		
1820	Monroe	J.Q. Adams	231	1		
1824	J.Q. Adams	Jackson	84	99	108,740	153,544
1828	Jackson	J.Q. Adams	178	83	647,286	508,064

[1] The election was decided in the House and Representatives where Jefferson received the votes of 10 states and Burr those of 4 states.

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE

1788 - 1968

Year	President	Opponent	Electoral Vote		Popular Vote	
			Winner	Loser	Winner	Loser
1832	Jackson	Clay	219	49	687,502	530,189
1836	VanBuren	Harrison	170	73	762,678	735,651
1840	Harrison	Van Buren	234	60	1,275,016	1,129,102
1844	Polk	Clay	170	105	1,337,243	1,299,062
1848	Taylor	Cass	163	127	1,360,099	1,220,544
1852	Pierce	Scott	254	42	1,601,274	1,386,580
1856	Buchanan	Fremont	174	114	1,839,237	1,341,028
		Fillmore		8		849,872
1860	Lincoln	Breckenridge	180	72	1,867,198	854,248
		Bell		39		591,658
		Douglas		12		1,379,434
1864	Lincoln	McClellan	212	21	2,219,362	1,805,063
1868	Grant	Seymour	214	80	3,013,313	2,703,933
1872	Grant	Greeley	286	-- [2]	3,597,375	2,833,711
1876	Hayes	Tilden	185	184 [3]	4,035,924	4,287,670
1880	Garfield	Hancock	214	155	4,454,433	4,444,976
1884	Cleveland	Blaine	219	182	4,875,971	4,852,234
1888	B. Harrison	Cleveland	233	168	5,439,853	5,540,309
1892	Cleveland	B. Harrison	277	145	5,556,918	5,191,466
		Weaver		22		1,029,960
1896	McKinley	Bryan	271	176	7,104,779	6,652,925

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[2] Greeley died after the election and his 3 electoral votes were not counted.

[3] The electoral votes of four states were disputed. Congress referred the matter to the Electoral Commission of fifteen members, which gave the decision to Hayes.

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE

1788 - 1968

Year	President	Opponent	Electoral Vote		Popular Vote	
			Winner	Loser	Winner	Loser
1900	McKinley	Bryan	292	155	7,207,923	6,358,133
1904	Roosevelt	Parker	336	140	7,623,486	5,077,911
1908	Taft	Bryan	321	162	7,678,908	6,409,104
1912	Wilson	Taft	435	8	6,301,254	3,435,831
		Roosevelt		88		4,127,788
1916	Wilson	Hughes	277	254	9,129,606	8,538,271
1920	Harding	Cox	404	127	16,152,200	9,147,353
1924	Coolidge	Davis	382	136	15,725,016	8,386,704
		LaFollette		13		4,832,532
1928	Hoover	Smith	444	87	21,391,381	15,016,443
1932	F.D. Roosevelt	Hoover	472	59	22,821,857	15,761,841
1936	Roosevelt	Landon	523	8	27,751,597	16,679,583
1940	Roosevelt	Willkie	449	82	27,244,160	22,305,198
1944	Roosevelt	Dewey	422	99	25,602,504	22,006,285
1948	Truman	Dewey	303	189	24,179,345	21,991,291
		Thurmond		39		1,176,125
1952	Eisenhower	Stevenson	442	89	33,778,963	27,314,992
1956	Eisenhower	Stevenson	457	73	35,581,003	25,738,765
1960	Kennedy	Nixon	303	219	34,227,096	34,107,646
1964	Johnson	Goldwater	486	52	42,825,463	27,146,969
1968	Nixon	Humphrey	301	191	31,770,237	31,270,533
		Wallace		46		9,906,141 [4]

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[4] "Statistics of the Presidential and Congressional Election of November 3, 1964" compiled by Benjamin J. Guthrie "Historical Review of Presidential Candidates from 1788 to 1968", Congressional Quarterly Service, Washington, D.C.

Time for A Change?

The most discussed topic in the 1968 election had nothing to do with such critical issues as civil rights, the war in Vietnam, or crime in the streets. Rather it concerned the fifty-nine word paragraph in Article II of the Constitution that established the Electoral College as the mechanism for choosing a President.

Concern over the Electoral College was directly related to the strong showing that third-party candidate George C. Wallace seemed to be making. The Wallace threat related to the requirement that a presidential winner must have a majority of the electoral votes. Had the election been a close one and had Wallace captured a large enough number of electoral votes, then neither Nixon or Humphrey might have been able to secure the 270 electoral vote majority required. The college would have deadlocked and the election have then been thrown into the House of Representatives.

In a presidential showdown in the House, each state delegation has only one vote. A total of 26 votes is required to win. In theory, the 26 least popular states (with only 17% of the total population) could impose a President of their choosing on the nation. Such an outcome, says House Majority Whip Hale Boggs, could foil the wishes of a majority of the voters and upset the two-party system. "The idea," he says, "is absolute anarchy."[1]

Since the ratification of the Constitution 180 years ago, dissatisfaction with the Electoral College has been constant. More than 500 proposals have been advanced for abolishing or altering the college. Opponents of the Electoral College use these arguments:

. 1. The electoral choice of the president does not always reflect the majority will of the voters. In 1876, some 250,000 more people voted for Samuel J. Tilden

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[1] Quoted in The World Book Year Book for 1969, page 329

than for Rutherford B. Hayes, but Hayes won the presidency. Again in 1888, Grover Cleveland received more popular votes than did Benjamin Harrison but, because of the way his vote was distributed among the states, Cleveland received only 168 electoral votes to 233 for Harrison.

. 2. Voters in large states under the Electoral College system have more influence on the outcome of the election than do those in smaller states. A computer analysis by John F. Banzhal II showed that a voter in New York now has 3,312 times as much power to influence the election as citizens in other states. This imbalance is achieved because New York's 43 electoral votes are allocated entirely to the presidential candidate who carries the state even if his victory margin is only a few thousand. Votes for the losers, in effect, are wasted. A voter in Alaska, on the other hand, can only hope to influence 3 electoral votes.

. 3. Under the present system electors are not required to vote for the winning candidate in their state. Four times electors have not "followed the party." In 1820, one voted against John Quincy Adams to prevent his matching Washington as a unanimous choice. In 1948, a Tennessee elector voted against Truman and in 1956, an Alabama elector against Stevenson. Finally, in the last election, Dr. Lloyd W. Bailey of North Carolina cast his vote for George C. Wallace instead of Richard Nixon, winner of the popular vote in the state.

. 4. Since all votes in a state usually go to the winning candidate in that state, a losing candidate receives no credit for votes in states where he does not have a majority. In the 1968 presidential election, Barry Goldwater got all of Arizona's electoral votes although the race in the state between Goldwater and Johnson was very close. Goldwater received 242,535 votes to 237,753 for Johnson, a difference of less than 5,000 votes.

. 5. The presence of strong third parties in an election presents a recurring threat to the effective functioning of the Electoral College and increases the danger that Congress and not the voters will choose the President. Since Congressmen tend to be more conservative than the voters at large, this situation includes the possibility that a liberal front-runner will be denied election by a conservative House of Representatives.

Not everyone favors electoral reform. Many people feel that, with minor exceptions, the Electoral College has functioned amazingly well. Those who oppose changes in the system cite these reasons for maintaining the status quo:

. 1. The Electoral College is consistent with the federal-state relationship established in the Constitution and with the republican system of government which characterizes our political system.

. 2. The disproportionate influence of large industrial states in Presidential politics gives a necessary advantage to cohesive minority groups of voters. By virtue of the unit rule, relatively small blocs of voters can make the decisive difference in closely divided states. This ensures adequate representation of minority viewpoints and party interest in the needs of minority-group citizens.

. 3. In a close election, the presidential winner of a popular vote contest would not be decided for days or even weeks while recounts were held. The deferment of a presidential decision until numerous recounts were made would cause a loss of confidence in the electoral process.

. 4. The winner-take-all system is the simplest way of deciding an electoral victory in a state. It is consistent with the reality of any contest, that the candidate with the highest number of votes is in actuality the first-place man even though his plurality over his opponent is only a few thousand votes.

. 5 The present system tends to maintain the two-party system, a desirable feature of American politics. Splinter parties, unless they are regionally based and have wide support, can have little effect on the election outcome. Abolition of the Electoral College would encourage a multi-party system and discourage the intra-party compromise that guarantees a wide spectrum of voter support for the two major political parties.

Student Assignment

1. You will be assigned a position on the issue of electoral reform either as a supporter or as an opponent of reform. Study the arguments for your position as given in the section above and write a 2-minute speech (about 300 words) to use in

class tomorrow in a debate on the Electoral College. Use as much supporting evidence of a factual nature as you can in your speech. The fate of the Electoral College may hinge on your words!

2. As an extra-credit assignment you may wish to interview five people to find out their response to the question, "What do you think of the Electoral College?"

James Michener, an elector from Pennsylvania, undertook to conduct some on-the-street interviews on this subject and some of the replies he received were comical. One man said, "Every boy and girl should go to college, and if they can't afford Yale or Harvard, why, Electoral is just as good."

Class Session Twelve: **Tradition or Tyranny**

Recipes for Reform

The popular demand for electoral reform is clear. A recent Gallup Poll indicated that 8 out of every 10 Americans favor a change in the system to overcome the dangers of deadlock or duplicity by the electors. An article titled "Electoral Reform: Time for a Change?" in the December 16, 1969 Chicago Daily News described three approaches to reform and discuss the strong and weak points of each:

1. "Direct Election. Backed by the American Bar Assn. and Sen. Birch Bayh (D-Ind.), this constitutional amendment would abolish the Electoral College and allow voters to cast ballots directly for President and Vice-President. The team with the most votes in the 50 states and Washington would be elected -- if it got more than 40 per cent of the total vote. If no team met this requirement, a runoff election would be held between the top two teams of candidates. Congress would be empowered to set uniform age and residence requirements for voting in the presidential race.

"Uniform franchise requirements are essential because some states now allow 18-year-olds to vote, and these states would have a proportionately greater influence in the election than states where the voting age is 21.

"Opponents of direct election say it would not keep faith with the Founding Fathers' wish to increase the weight of smaller states in the outcome by assuring that each state has at least three electoral votes regardless of population.

They also warn that close elections would not be decided for days, even weeks, while recounts were conducted.

"'Of all systems, both present and proposed, the direct election is the only plan that guarantees to each citizen the chance to participate equally in the election of a President,' one leading advocate says.

2. "Proportional Plan. This would retain the electoral weight for each state - such as 26 for Illinois and 40 for California - but divide up the electoral votes in proportion to the statewide popular vote for the candidates. In California, for example, Nixon would receive 30 votes if he rolled up 75 per cent of the vote in his home state.

"Opponents contend that this would tip the system in favor of residents of smaller states and those with a one-party tradition, such as the Old South, where top-heavy margins of victory are common. One critic said this system would give a voter in Alaska five times as much power in a presidential race as a voter in California or New York. Supporters insist that small-state 'balance' to the bigger states is part of the constitutional compromise in the federal system.

3. "District Plan. This also would retain the electoral weights, but citizens would elect two electors at large in each state and one from each congressional district, or votes would be cast as if the electors were so chosen. In each district, the winner would receive the electoral vote and the loser would get nothing. This system, according to its opponents, also would deprive residents of large states of equal voting power.

"The critics say the most favored voters would be those in Alaska, Nevada and Wyoming, while more than 93 per cent of the population would be at a disadvantage under this system. Besides, the opponents say, the districts may not be equal in population and the possibility of gerrymandering to affect the choice of a President cannot be ignored.

"In general, conservatives favor the proportional or district plans while liberals have embraced the direct-election proposal originally put forward by the American Bar Assn. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce supports either the direct election plan or the district plan."[1]

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[1] "Electoral Reform: Time For A Change?" Chicago Daily News, December December 16, 1968, page 4.

Student Assignment

The Nixon administration has indicated that it will favor neither retention of the present system of electing Presidents nor abolition of the Electoral College and substitution of direct popular election. The President would like to abolish the unit rule by which the total electoral vote of a state is now cast in accordance with the wishes of a majority or a plurality of the voters. In addition, President Nixon would, according to the Republican leadership of Congress, support either a proportional or district reform as acceptable alternatives.

Many key congressmen and senators are still undecided on this issue. Unless voters strongly express their views to these leaders, electoral reform may die as a result of "after-election apathy."

Your assignment for class tomorrow is to write a letter to your Congressman or to one of your United States Senators stating your position on electoral reform. Be sure you tell in your letter whether you favor such reform, which proposal you support and what reasons you have for your view. Letters will be proofread in class tomorrow, recopied and mailed to the appropriate members of Congress.

Class Session Thirteen: **The Awkward Interval**

The King Is Dead

The question of succession in a monarchy was in former times often a ticklish problem. Where the king had more than one son, fraternal rivalry for the crown was an ever-present possibility. Where no direct heir existed, prolonged warfare between competing branches of the royal family was a frequent occurrence. It therefore became customary to couple a monarch's death with the immediate declaration of his successor and in this way legitimize the new ruler. "The king is dead," proclaimed the royal chamberlain. "Long live the king."

Unlike these monarchies of former days, the strongest government in the world, having selected a new leader, must wait ten weeks before installing him in office. No other government today has institutionalized such an awkward interval between selection of a leader and his taking of power. In Great Britain, by way of contrast, if a parliamentary election changes the majority party in the House of Commons, the leader of the losing party immediately resigns. Within a week, a new prime minister takes office. A dramatic example of this occurred in 1946 during the Potsdam Conference. On July 25 Winston Churchill left the conference to go home for an election - which to his surprise his Tory Party lost. On July 28, Clement Atlee, leader of the winning Labor Party, had already taken Churchill's place at Potsdam.

In the United States a decision made by the voters in the first week of November is not carried out until late January. If an incumbent president is not running for re-election, as was the case in 1968, the power vacuum in the White House appears long before November. From March 31, 1968 when Lyndon Johnson announced that he would not be a candidate for re-election to January 20, 1969 when Richard Nixon was inaugurated, the executive's influence with Congress slowly deteriorated. Important legislation remained in committee. International matters such as ratification of the Non-Proliferation Treaty were held without action.

Similar presidential inability to gain support on major issues is a recurring problem that faces the nation with every change of administration.

Our arrangements for presidential succession are, like the Electoral College, hold-overs from eighteenth century political ideas. The framers of the Constitution believed in the separation of powers and wanted to establish a presidency that would be independent of the legislature. The executive was given a fixed term of four years. Because the executive was to be an independent leader, the founding fathers could see no reason why the beginning and ending of his term should correspond with the terms of the members of Congress.

After the Constitution was ratified, Congress set up a time schedule in order to get the new political system going. This schedule was officially enacted into law in 1792 and governed presidential succession for over one hundred years. The selection of presidential electors was set for November with the electoral vote to take place one month later in December. Two additional months followed between the electoral vote and its tally by Congress and Inauguration Day was officially set as March 4. These time intervals seemed appropriate in days when a stage coach took five days to go from Baltimore to Philadelphia. Under such circumstances it was not surprising that the first Congress assembled under the Constitution in March, 1789, it was over a month before enough senators had arrived in New York (then the capitol) to make up a quorum and tally the electoral votes of the states. As a result it was mid-April before George Washington was notified that he had been elected President. He made the trip from Mt. Vernon to New York in the fast time of one week and was inaugurated on April 30, 1789.

Over the next fifty years, political and technological developments made it possible for earlier decisions and thus made the time from Election Day to Inauguration Day seem to be lengthening. By 1836, party discipline had tightened so the electors had little choice but to vote for their party's nominee. By the 1870's telegraph service had sped up the vote reporting so that the identity of the President-elect was known within twenty-four hours after the popular voting was over. At the same time, railroad service made it possible for a congressman to get to Washington

from anywhere except the far West in a week. It became increasingly difficult to justify the sixteen-week sequence of events between election and new administration.

The rules governing the scheduling of Congress made even less sense than those governing presidential succession. The Constitution provided for annual sessions beginning early in December; these ended March 3 in the odd-numbered years and some time in the early summer in the even-numbered years. Congress was on a two-year cycle beginning in the odd-numbered years. Consequently, although members of the House were elected in November of even-numbered years, their predecessors' terms did not expire until the subsequent March 3. A newly elected member of Congress did not take his seat for thirteen months - until December of the year following his election. His first or "long session" ran from December of the odd-numbered year until the summer of the even-numbered year. That November there was a new election. After the election, the member, whether re-elected or not, would return for the "short session" from December to March. If defeated at the polls, the member earned the title of "lame duck."

The spectacle of defeated or retiring politicians sitting in Congress while men with fresh mandates waited at home was a strange one. In addition, each time there was a change in the White House the country was governed by a defeated President and, in part at least, by a "lame duck" Congress. History is full of examples of the difficulties that this situation caused. Laurin L. Henry describes two examples in an article in the American Heritage magazine:

"Take, for example, the fateful drift toward war that occurred between November, 1860, and the inauguration of Lincoln in March, 1861 (the awkward interval was seventeen weeks in those days). Whether Lincoln could have staved off the Civil War if he had been brought to power sooner is of course debatable; perhaps by that time the conflict was indeed irrepressible. But the futility of Buchanan during those weeks, while Lincoln rusticated inscrutably in Springfield, haunts the national memory.

"Or consider the plight, seventy-two years later, of Herbert Hoover, repudiated at the polls in November, but serving out his time in the White House while economic paralysis swept over the country. Hoover struggled valiantly, according to his lights, but the country regarded him as a used-up man, and Congress, under Democratic leadership, scorned his efforts. President-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt, invited by Hoover to join in an emergency effort, declined to become involved - at least on the terms of cooperation offered by Hoover. One shudders to think what might happen in 1968 should a crisis with the potentiality of blowing up the world occur between Election Day and the day of inauguration."[1]

Fortunately, at the end of Hoover's administration, Congress was having the last of its "lame duck" sessions. Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska had introduced in 1932 a constitutional amendment to correct this situation. Ratified in 1933, the Twentieth Amendment provided that the terms of representatives and senators would begin and end at noon on January 3 rather than on March 4 and that annual sessions of Congress would begin at the same time. Congressmen elected in November would henceforth take their seats eight weeks later and there would be no more "lame duck" sessions - unless the President called a special session between Election Day and January. The amendment also shortened the presidential interval by moving the date of inauguration up from March 4 to January 20. Over two months still remained between election and inauguration but the four month time schedule of constitutional days had been almost halved, making the interval somewhat more realistic and less awkward.[2]

Preparing for Power

Since World War II there has been a rapid growth of customs and devices for bridging the power gap between presidents. Every administration now offers

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[1] "The Awkward Interval" by Laurin L. Henry. American Heritage, October, 1968, page 6.

[2] Information for this section was obtained by summarizing Laurin L. Henry's article "The Awkward Interval," American Heritage, October, 1968.

briefings on military and foreign situations to the candidates of all major parties. Once the election is over, the retiring President invites the President-elect to the White House for conferences. Arrangements are made for continued communication between the incoming and outgoing administrations. Instead of waiting for the eve of inauguration to announce cabinet positions, President-elects hasten to appoint men to these posts as early as possible so that appointees can begin to familiarize themselves with their duties. In 1952, Dwight Eisenhower announced the names of those to be appointed to his cabinet by December 1.

Few candidates leave the planning for their administration to after Election Day. John F. Kennedy early in the 1960 campaign asked Clark Clifford to analyze the problems of taking over the executive branch. Clifford began a series of meetings with political experts to develop procedures for an orderly transition should Kennedy be elected. Richard Neustadt, a political scientist who had worked in the Bureau of the Budget and as a Special Assistant in the White House before becoming a professor at Columbia University, was also enlisted to study this problem. On September 15, two months before the election, Neustadt presented to Kennedy a program for action. Three tasks were outlined for the ten weeks between Election Day and Inauguration Day: (1) assure the vanquished opposition party of cooperation and trust; (2) select the top officers of the new administration; (3) work out a legislative program of specific proposals to make to Congress.

The day after the election President Dwight D. Eisenhower proposed that Kennedy appoint a representative to serve as a liaison with the outgoing administration. Kennedy appointed Clifford and then retired to Palm Beach, Florida to prepare for his administration. Soon after his arrival there, he made a well publicized call on his defeated opponent Richard M. Nixon to reassure the public of his desire to cooperate with the Republican Party once he was in office.

Clark Clifford in Washington worked with representatives of the Eisenhower administration to further plan the transition. A system was set up whereby Kennedy appointees would receive quick FBI clearance. They would then be put in touch with

their Eisenhower counterparts and office space arranged for them in their new departments.

The question of "people" became more urgent every day. The Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service had thoughtfully produced a heavy green volume listing all the posts the new President had the power to fill - the cabinet and agency heads plus about 1200 jobs to which presidential appointees could name persons of their own choosing. A nationwide search for competent men was undertaken. By December 17, President-elect Kennedy announced his cabinet and was then ready to move on to the filling of policy-making jobs below the cabinet level.

While Kennedy was choosing the members of his administration, he was also engaged in the effort to chart the main directions of his policy. He had set up seven task forces before the election to study specific aspects of foreign and domestic policy - the defense establishment, foreign policy, national security policy, natural resources, wheat, cotton, and use of the agricultural surplus abroad. These groups met during September and October and were able to present proposals to the President-elect shortly after Election Day. Nineteen more task forces were set up by mid-December - eleven in foreign policy and seven in domestic policy. Three further domestic groups were added in early January. By Inauguration Day, twenty-four of these twenty-nine task forces had completed their studies and had recommended new programs of action.

The transition between the Eisenhower and the Kennedy administrations was amazingly well planned. Congress in 1964 passed a Presidential Transition Act which formally declared that such orderly transitions are required in the national interest. All officers of the government are ordered to take appropriate action for that purpose. The law authorized the expenditure of up to $900,000 in public funds for such items as rent, telephones, travel and staff salaries to aid preparations by the President-elect. The outgoing President was also allocated up to $375,000 to pay his expenses of transition during the six months following the end of his term.

The Presidential Transition Act received its first test in 1968 during the transition between the Johnson and Nixon administrations. Close communication and careful planning characterized this transition; good feeling existed between the outgoing and incoming groups in a way seldom before seen in American political life. As a result of this cooperation as well as of other factors, an air of public confidence began to build up toward the President-elect. A Gallup Poll in early January reported that a substantial 60 percent of those polled were optimistic that Nixon would do a good-to-excellent job in the White House.

Student Assignment

Our topic for tomorrow will be the Inauguration. Prepare for class discussion of this topic by selecting one of these assignments as homework:

1. Read a newspaper or magazine article on the inauguration of Richard M. Nixon. List the major events that occurred in connection with his taking office.

2. Select a president of the past and find as much information as you can about his inauguration.

3. Memorize the oath taken by the President at his inauguration. Be prepared to tell your class what responsibilities our top executive promises to perform.

Class Session Fourteen: **The Transfer of Power**

A Splendid Ceremony

"There is no ceremony more splendid," writes Theodore H. White, "than the inauguration of an American President."[1] Standing before the U.S. Capitol, the President-elect is administered the oath of office by the Chief Justice of the United States. With his right hand on the Bible, he repeats these words:

> "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

With these words, power is officially transferred from the old leader to the new.

The Constitution did not say when, where or before whom the oath is to be taken. It does not require an outdoor ceremony at the Capitol nor an inaugural address by the new President. It says nothing about inaugural parades, concerts, balls and galas. All of these have been added over the last 180 years and have become traditions to which Americans are sentimentally attached.

There have been presidential inaugurations in the past without parades and balls. The most recent was in 1945 when Franklin D. Roosevelt was inaugurated for his fourth term only a few months before his death and the end of World War II. Because of his health and wartime security, he dispensed with customary ceremonies and was sworn in on the south portico of the White House.

The recent inauguration of Richard M. Nixon conformed, however, to norms for recent inaugurations. The oath of office was administered and the new President then gave his inaugural address. In his speech, he said to all Americans: "I ask you to join in a high adventure - one as rich as humanity itself, and exciting

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[1] Theodore H. White in The Making of the President, page 37

as the time we live in. The essence of freedom is that each of us shares in the shaping of his own destiny."

Then Nixon, Vice-President Spiro Agnew and their wives, congressional leaders, cabinet officers governors and other dignitaries led the inaugural parade down the "avenue of the Presidents," Pennsylvania Avenue. Their automobiles stopped before the White House where they got out to review the parade from specially constructed stands. That evening the presidential party made the rounds of six inaugural balls held at the Smithsonion Institution and five Washington hotels.

The total cost of the Nixon inauguration was $2,800,000. $400,000 of this was paid by the taxpayers for the stands and other costs in connection with the swearing-in ceremonies on the east front of the Capitol. The remaining $2,400,000 covered the cost of viewing stands erected along the parade route, invitations for the various events, orchestras for the six balls and a variety of other items. This cost was covered by the sale of tickets to the inaugural events. Some citizens decried the large expenditures for the inauguration and suggested that the event might be just as impressive if there had been no inaugural parade and only one inaugural ball.

If Nixon had restricted the inaugural ceremonies to only one ball, he would have been close to the straight-laced attitude displayed by Woodrow Wilson in 1913. Although history shows that George Washington danced a minuet and two cotillions at his inaugural in 1789, Wilson cancelled the balls, calling them frivolous. They were not resumed again until Franklin D. Roosevelt's first inauguration in 1933.

A major concern of the planners of the 1968 inauguration was the weather and in particular the fear of a snow storm such as the one that occurred on the evening of John F. Kennedy's inauguration in 1960. A successful outdoor inauguration requires favorable weather. In early days, presidents were inaugurated indoors. The outdoor ceremony was started in 1817 when James Monroe was inaugurated. Henry Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives, feared the floor of the house where the ceremony was to be held would not accommodate the expected crowd. In addition, there was a quarrel between representatives and

senators over seats for the indoor ceremony. Since that time, presidential inaugurations have been held out-of-doors.

Weather was not such a major problem when inaugurations were held on March 4. Even then, however, there were some cold inaugurations. In 1872, Grant's second inauguration took place in a near-blizzard. It was so cold in the building where the inaugural ball was held that the guests wore coats while dancing and the valves froze on the musicians' instruments.

The outdoor ceremony resulted in the death of one President - William Henry Harrison. He rode coatless and hatless on a bitterly cold day to the Capitol on March 4, 1841 and further exposed himself by delivering a two-hour inaugural address. One month later he died from the effects of a cold he caught on Inauguration Day.

It was not until Franklin D. Roosevelt's second term that the inaugural ceremonies were moved from March 4 to January 20. To keep warm on that cold day, Roosevelt and Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes who swore him in resorted to electric heating pads.

A second major concern during the inauguration is security. In 1968, plans of anti-war forces to hold a counter-inaugural gave the city of Washington an uneasy air. The new President was protected as he spoke at the Capitol and as he reviewed the parade in front of the White House by a bullet-proof shield. The car that carried him back and forth embodied the latest devices in presidential protection.

The fear of demonstrations was also raised at previous inaugurations. At the time of Lincoln's first inauguration in 1861, rumors circulated about planned attempts on his life. A large parade route was lined with sharpshooters to protect the President.

Feelings ran even higher when Rutherford B. Hayes was inaugurated in 1877. Elected by only one electoral vote over Samuel J. Tilden in 1876, Hayes feared a demonstration by Tilden forces. Ulysses S. Grant, the retiring President,

was nervous about waiting until the official day for Hayes' inauguration. So Hayes was secretly sworn in as President at a White House ceremony on March 3. The ceremony, attended by Grant, Hayes and the Chief Justice, took place in the Red Room after dinner.

The inauguration, despite concern about the weather and fear over security, is a day of importance for all Americans. With this splendid ceremony, the mantle of leadership is placed upon the shoulders of the man whom the people have chosen to rule.

An Awesome Burden

Inauguration Day is gay but when the last strains of music from the inaugural balls die out, the people go home. The President is left alone to face the awesome burdens of his new role. Theodore H. White describes his responsibilities in these paragraphs:

"The powers of the American Presidency, constitutionally and pragmatically, have been a subject of endless fascination to American political scientists. By now the simple catalogue of Presidential duties is booklength. The President is Commander-in-Chief of all our armed forces, with power to promote, demote, reward, and punish 2,500,000 soldiers, sailors, airmen in uniform; he deploys them, launches them, lets them lie idle. He is also chief architect of national legislation, and polices Congress with his veto. His is the power of pardon and reprieve over 22,500 prisoners in federal penitentiaries. He appoints all 361 judges of the federal judiciary, from Chief Justice of the Supreme Court down; he sets the rules and tasks of 2,400,000 federal civil servants; he is chief appointive officer for forty major commissions and agencies outside the departments of his Cabinet, for which he names 200 members with Senate approval, and 200 other responsible policy-making members on his own. He is chief diplomatic officer, designer of our foreign policy, and must recognize the names of chiefs of state and the chief American diplomatic representatives in 138 states abroad with full claim or aspiring pretensions to sovereignty, as well as a dozen-odd international bodies

such as the United Nations and NATO. He is responsible for supervision of our economy, for the rate of its credit, the peace and harmony of its industrial relations, the throb of its commerce, and the interlocking of this commerce with world trade. He is high ceremonial officer for all public occasions of state. And he alone must, by law, decide when and how the nuclear weapons of America's cataclysmic arsenal will be used if the death of the world becomes preferable to slow surrender.

"On and on, endlessly, runs the catalogue of Presidential duties and powers defined either in law or by custom. And for each of them a vast battery of human instruments has grown up, an instrumentation so complex that even if a President spent all his years in office studying them, he would never learn how they function in detail. . . .

"A hush, an entirely personal hush, surrounds this kind of power, and the hush is deepest in the Oval Office of the West Wing of the White House, where the President, however many his advisers, must sit alone."[1]

The heavy burdens of this great office have led some of those who have held it to utter some sober thoughts about the job. Thomas Jefferson, for example, referred to the presidency as "a splendid misery." A more recent occupant of the seat, Harry Truman, stated: "I do not know of any easy way to be President. It is more than a full-time job and the relaxations are few. Throughout history, those who have tried hardest to do the right thing have often been persecuted, misrepresented or even assassinated."[2]

Despite the burdens of the office, the men who have been selected by their fellows to fill it have served their country remarkably well. A healthy percentage of them have been great Presidents. Among this group most historians would include

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[1] Theodore H. White in The Making of the President 1960, pages 412-13, 415.

[2] Quoted in Chicago Daily News, January 18, 1969.

George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Others though not so outstanding as these greats, have provided effective national leadership. Only a few men have failed to meet the demands of the office. No political system as yet devised has given to its people so large a measure of illustrious leadership as has the American political process.

Choosing the President

The events of the inauguration conclude the long process whereby the American people select their leaders. This process which begins almost a year before the final transfer of power on January 20 includes these steps:

1. Emergence into public view of candidates for nomination during the year before the national party conventions.

2. Pre-convention campaigns aimed at capturing delegate votes at the national conventions.

3. Presidential preference primaries in some states.

4. Choice of delegates to the national conventions by presidential primaries, state or district conventions, state committees or a combination of these methods.

5. National party conventions during the summer of the election year to nominate presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

6. Campaigns by nominees of the parties during the summer and fall for votes at the November general election.

7. Election by voters of the party's presidential electors in each of the 50 states on the Tuesday after the first Monday of November.

8. Casting of votes for President and Vice-President on Monday following the second Wednesday in each state capitol by slates of electors elected in November.

9. Formal election of the President and Vice-President-elect on January 6 of the year following the election year.

10. Inauguration of the President-elect and Vice-President-elect on January 20.[1]

This leadership selection process has been under critical scrutiny in recent years. Suggestions have been made for reforming the process at various stages of its operation and, to varying degrees. Among the major changes proposed are these:

1. Substitution of a national presidential primary for the present system of party conventions.

2. Provision of federal support to the political parties for campaign expenditures.

3. Lowering of the voting age to 18 to provide a voice to younger citizens.

4. Abolition of the Electoral College to provide for direct popular election of the President.

Each of these suggestions must be evaluated in the light of its impact on the effectiveness of the leadership selection process. Each must be related to the goals of leadership in a democratic society.

Student Assignment

Your assignment for tomorrow is to evaluate the four proposals for change listed above. What criteria can you develop to evaluate these proposals? On the basis of your study, list the pros and cons for each proposal. Be prepared to discuss your thoughtful decision on whether these four suggestions for change should be implemented.

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[1] Choosing the President, League of Women Voters, pages 9-10.

Class Session Fifteen: **Speak Out**

Power of the People

The dictionary defines "democracy" as "government by the people; that form of government in which the sovereign power resides in the people and is exercised either directly by them or by officers elected by them."[1]

This definition suggests that one way of judging the process whereby the President is chosen is to evaluate the degree of citizen participation that this process provides. Citizens in Illinois have these opportunities for participation:

1. Joining a political party to influence the selection of party leaders and the development of party policies.

2. Voting in the state primary to elect delegates to the national convention. (Two delegates per congressional district are selected; 48 of the 118 Democratic delegates were elected in the primary in 1968 and 48 of the 58 Republican delegates were so selected.)

3. Working during the campaign to persuade other voters to back the candidate of their choice.

4. Voting in November for electors pledged to the candidate of their choice.

Certain questions can be raised about the degree to which citizens make use of these opportunities. In which of these do fewest citizens participate? In which do most participate? What changes in choosing a President would encourage greater participation? How would a national presidential primary affect participation? How would lowering the voting age affect participation?

Socrates said of democracy: "We are called a democrary, for the administration is in the hands of the many and not of the few. But while the law secures

[1] Oxford Universal Dictionary

equal justice to all alike in their private disputes, the claim of excellence is also recognized; and when a citizen is in any way distinguished, he is preferred for public service, not as a matter of privilege, but as a reward for merit. Neither is poverty a bar, but a man may benefit his country whatever be the obscurity of his condition."[1]

This quotation suggests that a second way of evaluating our leadership selection process is to ask how it provides for the choice of men of excellence, distinguished men who should be preferred for public service. From your study of recent elections in the United States, how well do you believe our system fills this requirement? Were the presidential candidates of the two major parties in 1968 men of excellence? Were other men of greater ability passed by? What does the candidacy of George Wallace say about some people's view of the major party candidates? Is poverty a bar in seeking nomination as a presidential candidate? What changes in choosing a President would enlarge the possibilities that men of excellence would be selected?

A third way of evaluating our leadership selection process is to decide whether the responsibility for its success lies with the process or with the people. Adlai Stevenson said in a speech given in Chicago on September 29, 1952: "Government (in a democracy) cannot be stronger or more tough-minded than its people. It cannot be more inflexibly committed to the task than they. It cannot be wiser than the people."

Stevenson's statement raises a valid question: can the people of a democracy blame the process for their failure to participate? Some who call for reform believe the process of choosing a President should be made so inherently democratic that guarantees of citizen participation are built into that process; others believe that the choice of whether or not to participate must remain with the citizens and that, if participation is made too easy, their commitment to the responsibilities of

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[1] Funeral speech of Pericles

a democratic society will be weakened. Would the suggested reforms in our leadership selection process make participation too easy? Would they encourage participation by the uninformed or the uncommitted?

Speak Your Mind

These three criteria - citizen participation, leadership excellence and voter commitment - as well as additional criteria developed in class today may be used to evaluate the four suggestions for reform in the process whereby the American people choose a President. Think through your position on this process and write a 200-word essay giving your evaluation of the system as it works today, your proposals for changes in the system if you believe change is needed and your reasons for supporting these changes. Your essay will serve as a final evaluation of your learning during this unit of work.

Appendix

Federal Constitutional Provisions Relating to Choosing the President

United States Constitution

ARTICLE II - THE PRESIDENT

Section 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same Term, be elected as follows:

Each state shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

The Congress may determine the Time of choosing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

AMENDMENT XII - PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS

The Electors shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; - The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; - The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of

those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March[1] next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the president.[2] - The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President, shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for that purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States. (Ratified 1804)

AMENDMENT XX - LAME DUCK AMENDMENT

Section 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such

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[1] By the 20th Amendment, adopted in 1933, the term of the President is to begin on the 20th of January.

[2] Under the 20th Amendment, Sec. 3, in case a President is not chosen before the time for beginning of his term, the Vice President-elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified.

person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.

Section 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have developed upon them. (Ratified in 1933)

AMENDMENT XXII - LIMITATION ON PRESIDENTIAL TERMS

No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once. But this Article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this Article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this Article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term. (Ratified in 1951)

AMENDMENT XXIII - PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS FOR DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Section 1. The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct: A number of electors of President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the States, but they shall be considered, for the purposes of the election of President and Vice President, to be electors appointed by a State; and they shall meet in the District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment. (Ratified in 1961)

AMENDMENT XXIV - BAN ON POLL TAX

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reasons of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax. (Ratified in 1964)

Federal Constitutional Provisions Relating to Voting

United States Constitution

ARTICLE I - THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Section 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of a number chosen every two years by the people of the several States, and the electors for each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

AMENDMENT XV - NEGRO SUFFRAGE

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. (Ratified in 1870)

AMENDMENT XIX - WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. (Ratified in 1920)